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ART. I—THE LITURGIC, AND THE REFORMED, THEORY OF PRAYER.*

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AMONG the the variety of subjects to which the attention of the Church has of late years been directed, there is none which, taken in all its bearings, can be rightly esteemed of greater moment than that of the Liturgical interest, at present manifesting itself more or less in nearly all denominations of Christians. Leaving out the subject of missions, assuredly there remains no other which can be supposed to compete in importance with that of the Liturgy; because a liturgy for the church-service, if it deserve the name of such, together with the Baptismal and Eucharistic offices, is an artistic religious embodiment, as it were, of the fulness of true doctrine. It presupposes the fullest discussion and the final adjustment of the doctrinal symbol, in the way of intellectual study, discourse, and controversy, and then it comes in, embodying the truth in a far higher form, addressing far more noble faculties of the soul, giving to the lips, to the heart, and to the spirit, an adequate expression and utterance for the devotional wants of the whole man, and for his every time of need. It has taken up the science of religion, and removed religion out of the region

* As we shall be looking, in the course of this article, on the subject of prayer principally as an intellectual form, and hence a legitimate subject of philosophic criticism, the writer would, at the outset and once for all, ask leave to remind himself as well as others, that there is no such thing as prayer, in its true sense, except as it be that which is begotten in the heart and spirit of a Christian man through the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost.

of science, clothing it in the form of holy Art. If, accordingly, it be a Liturgy indeed, then is it an *universal Form for the Christian man;* not a discursive treatise for his understanding, not a pietistic hymn for his emotions and feelings, not a particular prayer for his individual experience or wants. It takes rank among things, yea it takes the chief rank among earthly things, which operate by means of an intuitional and inherent suggestiveness, rather than by moral means; except that a willing heart must co-exist on the part of the worshipper. In other and better words, a perfect liturgy is sacramental in its nature, and in its mode of operation. Such a service cannot but "lift up" our willing "hearts to the Lord."

Whatever true Art—and we acknowledge no art to be true except that which holds forth, or holds in solution, conscience and reason, as well as imagination and fancy, art, whose images our minds shall carry to our heavenly home—whatever such Art is to the whole being of the good man, contemplated upon the earthly ground of his imagination and taste, all that and much more is a sufficient Liturgy to his higher being, considered from the ground of religion and faith. Take, for example a true Christian, the form of whose piety has been moulded through a hearty consent and an humble submission to the word of God in His holy Church, visible and historical in her ministry, and ministrations, sacraments and liturgy, and compare him with the good man who has been so unhappy as to spiritualize away this glorious panoply of Heaven's mercy and love to men;—Wilberforce, for instance, with Gurney. Now these men had equal advantages as to all the refining and liberalizing cultivation of polished society and letters, but the piety of the one was of a complete form, graceful, considerate, catholic; of the other, it was exceedingly defective, contracted, incomplete, and unsymmetrical. What is there remaining to explain the difference, unless it be due to the fact that the one was in a Church in which every side of his mind and nature was well addressed, through forms having the sanction of the best ages of the Church, forms which made that Church a visible presence to his mind, so that the full scope of his earthly religious nature found its development; and that the other, in

his rejection of the manifest constitutions of God, and in his cutting himself off from the historical continuity of the generations of his fellow-christians, has reaped, as to his religious habitude, that diminution, that dwarfage, that narrowness, which must necessarily, and must always be the result of such individualism. They were both very pious men, but the piety of the one, while it could embrace the world, life, society, art, and all the good appointments of our heavenly Father, following the steps of its divine Master even as from the Marriage in Cana of Galilee, the contemplation from the Mount of Olives of the visible glory of the holy city, the reception of the costly gift of Mary of Bethany, to the "man behold thy mother" from the cross—that of the other, was constructively guilty of the denial of all the beauty which God has made and the implied imputation of unholiness upon somewhat of the crowning glories of our constituted being, even that faculty of imagination, and of spiritual wonder which compose the redeeming halo of our intellectual make and fashioning. What is all this but the same self-righteous and baneful 'noli-me-tangere' stigma upon some of the holy things of our Creator, which other Christian people have been suffered to perpetrate, as the due reward, it may be, of their presumptuous *adding* to the sacramental constitutions of the Lord, as the pious Friend has been suffered to perpetrate as the reward of his presumptuous *denial* of them? In other words and generally, the Christian who diminishes and disparages the word of God speaking in the visible Church, and operating in its sacraments, ordinances and liturgic services, has done a thing of the same kind as the citizen who denies the gifts of God in society, letters and art; both must suffer a dwarfage in parts and a monstrous development in other parts of their being; both are in danger of misanthropy, bigotry, and superstition. The Christian who has denied these things has denied all that glorious prerogative of his make which we call reason and imagination; in other words, the part of our natures which makes us capable of being intuitively affected through religious forms as well as through forms of natural and poetic power and beauty. The consistent and thorough carrying out of this view would seal the eyes to the

works of nature and art, stop the ears against all pleasant words and harden the heart to all graceful sentiments.

It is perfectly obvious, upon the slightest consideration of the matter, that Liturgical work is transcendental work. Not the man that possesses the science of the subject, not the man that sits down and labors to think out and elaborate the doctrinal particulars which go to make up the requirements of an office, not the man who would strive to recall and give form to the devotional experiences of his own favored moments, not the man who would mark out selections from the organ notes, the seraphic strains and melting passages of poets—no one of these alone, and not all of them together, will succeed till after very many trials, in preparing so much as a form for a single office, which shall merit to be made a fixed portion of a permanent Church Liturgy. And why not? For the same reason, in a liturgic progress, that the Belvidere Apollo in an artistic progress, was not made, to be perpetual, till hundreds of statues had been made, to answer their day and be forgotten. Let us look at a single instance in corroboration of the ground here taken, namely, that liturgical work, (we mean the making of liturgies,) is, in the highest sense, poetic work. If it is granted, for example,—as it must be, otherwise we shall find small audience in what we have further to offer on our subject—let it be granted that the communion office in the book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, is the most perfect Eucharistic office in actual use; and then by comparing with this norm, the labors which individual pastors have essayed, with a view of remedying the deficiencies of the extempore service, it will immediately appear how profound and difficult is the work upon which they have entered, and how many trials we must expect to make, before a degree of liturgical perfectness can be reached, which would warrant the final adjustment and stereotyping of the forms. In the abnormal (but it is hoped now at length transitional) state into which all the Reformed Churches in our country, except the Episcopal, have fallen, as it respects the Liturgy, we must certainly lay it to our account to go through much tribulation, study and patience, before we shall have attained the goal. In most

cases, not only is an adequate Liturgy to be prepared, but a correct liturgical feeling is to be formed. In other words, a far greater degree of express Trinitarian worship and devotion, and a far less degree of merely didactic service must be made the service of the Church, and become the chosen habit of the people. What is meant by Trinitarian worship, will be found in the opening sentence of the Lord's Prayer, at the beginning and at the end of the Epistles of the New Testament, and in the Baptismal Formula: *This name* of the Holy Trinity, into which we are baptized, is to be made the express form, and the never-ceasing undertone of the prayers and service of the Church, instead of the Judaic indistinctness as it respects the Saving Name, which so generally characterizes our present sanctuary-habits.

The only sufficient explanation of the completeness of that grand office to which we have just referred, is to be found in the fact, that Cranmer was in circumstances which constrained him to retain a form with its heretical and superfluous additions disengaged—which was the result of this tentative process already gone through with, and at last fixed, during an age of the Church when its devotional charismata were at their best. Not Cranmer, with all his bishops, and with the help of Continental Doctors, could have originated that form. Theirs was an age for the reformation of doctrine, and such an age is not an age for the creation of Liturgies, as the books of the Reformed generally show. During a doctrinal transition period, the mind is on the ground of science and criticism; and for the same reason that such a habit of mind cannot originate in the way of Art, so neither is it apt either to originate or to appreciate, in the way of Liturgical production. It is not by any means because the forms of the Book of Common Prayer, are in good old English, that they are so incomparably superior to modern forms—it is because those forms, that grand responsive service, those glorious hymns, those choral ascriptions, those apt and universal collects, are the religious Art of the Church. Let the offices and prayers, whether for Church or private use, composed now-a-days (we say composed, we do not say compiled) be seasoned by ever so much age, they can

never become meritorious as compared with the old Liturgies of the Church. They are generically different; they preach where they ought to worship, they pragmatize where they ought to pray, they discourse where they ought to send up the "Glory." The mind of our times, is in the iron bandage-straps of a scientific and critical habit, and when we go to write a prayer we cannot help falling off into preaching and discoursing. We may even see from study of the old forms as distinctly as the artist can see in the study of old marbles, where the superiorty lies; we may see and feel that the adequate liturgical expression is ever a devotional symbol, a form of Art, as we have already said; but the mere act of taking the pen in hand will cause our good views to evaporate, even as the taking of the chisel or the pencil causes to vanish the night-visions of the artist; so holy, so awful, so difficult, and so fugitive, is the work in which we have engaged. Our productions may come out in the form of instructive and affecting prayers; but the moment we look into the old liturgies we find that ours are intrinsically, constitutively deficient; and that, labor as we may, we cannot cure them. It is the common experience of such as have engaged of late, in liturgic work, that the inaccessible character of the short-coming of their trials, has at length landed them at the point of despair, a point made salutary by looking thence to the old liturgies for help. Why cannot we do what the English Church did, cast off the errors which have accrued to them, mingle the work of the Reformation with them, and adopt them. Why fatigue our souls to no purpose with original attempts in a region which, may we not say, the Head of the Church has already filled to our hand? For our own part we must say so without hesitation. It is our opinion, that the anaphoral offices of the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, bear upon a scriptural comparison, far more divine marks than the communion or baptismal forms which it has been our lot to find in the pulpits of our churches.

It forms no principal part of our purpose and object at this time, to go into a formal discussion of the question, as between the comparative advantages of having a Liturgy, and being

without a Liturgy, for the use of the Church, because it appears to us, that is to say upon the real merits of the question, there is very little room for discussion. It will conduce to our purpose, however, to notice at this point, one or two of the arguments urged on the non-liturgical side of a controversy concerning which, we again protest that, did we not behold the fact of good people being against us, we could not admit a controversy in the case. We hold it an impossibility for one who has adequately reflected upon the vastness, the multitude and the very difficult character of the things requisite to make up a sufficient church-service, and then compared with this ideal, the actual daily deficiencies of the extemporal service,—deficiencies existing even where the individual prayers of the minister are the very best, for the reason that a complete service requires at least the complemental voices of the congregation and of the choir, as well as of the minister; or because, in other words, oral confession (the creed) responsals, praise, and worship, on the part of the people, are as much integral parts of a real Liturgic service, as is the voice of the minister; no man, we say, can have sufficiently thought upon this subject, and candidly made this comparison, without coming to one and the same conclusion, as far as regards the intrinsic merits of the question. If it is objected that according to the New Testament, the church-service ought to be "simple," it may be answered, *ad nominem*, so ought the sermon, but you never object to the sermon being elaborate; or it may better be answered, *to the truth*, that all profound, multitudinous, and perfect things are simple; that the prayer, for instance, is simple, and yet the hardest thing you can do will be to compose a right-good, satisfactory, short and all-inclusive prayer; that nothing is truly simple which is not manifold and suggestive, a living, organic, multiplicity in unity. Thus the Gospel of our salvation is simple, thus the world, the starry heavens, the Church, thus everything which is truly beautiful and really effective. And thus is the truly Liturgical service simple, and this is the warrant of its superiority, this the secret of its power. It is a simplicity which is the living, acting result of manifoldness and legitimate order. It is our unpremeditated

prayers and the desultory vagueness of our whole extemporal service, which is the real confusion, and which at its best estate can only be said to have a qualified unity, the elements being so few and so inadequate to the purpose, that a chaste uniformity is its very highest attribute, in these respects.

Whether or not, however, it is well, in the light of Church history, to trouble Christians who are getting on well enough for themselves, under extemporal services, by altering their devotional habits, as a real Liturgy certainly would do, this indeed may be a very serious question, and we should make it a deeply conscientious one; but whether a Liturgy (always meaning a real one) does not more fully exhaust the idea and fulfill the demands of a complete church-service, than an extemporal one ever can, is not a question to our minds, and we cannot make it such. If, from the experience of facts, or judging from the antecedent likelihood of the case, we could believe it possible for the human mind to extemporize what we mean by a Liturgy—or when (a far easier supposition) we can be brought to believe that Demosthenes or Cicero could have originated their orations from the rostrum, then and not till then can we imagine it possible for a minister to make an extemporal service as complete as a liturgical one. We are aware of but two arguments having apparent force against the fixing of the devotional service in liturgical forms. The one is that of formalism, concerning which we long ago saw reason for coming to the conclusion that to predicate formalism upon the matter of form, applies as much to a form of speech as to a form of print, and we are not able to detect the difference. As a matter of fact, however, it applies to neither. The form, spoken or printed, is not an element of the question. Formalism is a disease of the spirit, of the heart, of the feelings. It would be a sad thing indeed, if at whatever time the heart feels dull, we should be compelled to abstain from the use of the Lord's prayer, as we must if the general objection has any force. The other objection is, at first view, a far more serious one. It is that of the possible danger to the souls of such as are educated to the use of the sacred language contained in the liturgical forms, and yet are without the reality in their hearts. We can

only say, in reply to this, that the church-service ought to be the best service that can possibly be had, that we believe the Liturgical to be the best, that all persons *ought* to be, from childhood, habituated to the best forms and phrases of true, objective religion, and that the objection, carried out, would lead to the abolition of the sermon and of the reading of Holy Scripture, and, in fine, to the disuse of all the means of grace, except in behalf of those known to be God's children.

Another argument, more commonly brought forward, perhaps, than any other, in favor of the extemporal service, is, that it gives the minister liberty to adapt his prayers to existing circumstances and emergencies, at the time. We shall have occasion to make use of the theory, upon which this argument is founded, further on. We look upon it as one of the main causes, not only of much of the merely negative deficiencies of the extempore service,—under which aspect we shall speak of it in another place,—but of the positive faults to which the extempore service is ever liable. We shall endeavor to show that, in no public service of the church, written or unwritten, should the prayer proceed upon the theory of an exhaustive particularity of request, or of expression of any kind, but upon the theory of summary and general forms. In no way have our own feelings of Christian patience been more tried in the church services, than by long, enumerative, and particularizing prayers, formed upon the mistaken theory under review; and every minister must know something of the personal mortification which an indiscreet particular prayer for himself, or a prayer prayed at, or completive of, his sermon, has caused him as the price of unliturgic company in his pulpit. And as to particular providences abroad, to be improved in prayer, it has never been our lot to hear a solemn providence really improved, by particular prayer in the church. It might be well for our reverent practice could this "preaching to the times," be kept out of our sermons, as well as out of our prayers. We are not advocating the ignoring of special, solemn, providences in the Church, but we are maintaining, as to the *kind* of references which we, under the practice which is the result of our excessive general theory of particularizing pray-

er, have fallen into—that if these, as well as the general theory, and its general results, were abolished, it would be to the great advantage of the Church. So too have we heard confessions of sin in the church, so minute, so particular, so spun-out, that no person except the one stimulated by the speaking of them, could for very shame, as well as fatigue of spirit, have joined in them. And we have thought, as the confession still grew and went on, O that he would but stop, and let us say with the Prodigal son, or with the penitent Publican, or with Nehemiah of old, "We have sinned, we have transgressed, we have done wickedly." The Christian worshipper needs but a short form, for this matter in the church; and surely it is vain for a man to seek to goad his soul to penitence, through a mere prolonging of confession in the church. He has done it, or something better, at home, and the church meets him coming from his closet, as the father met his repentant son. So too have we heard prayers of thanksgiving, which began from Paradise, and sought to go through all the gifts of nature, and providence, and everything that could be thought of, till it grew a very weariness, and the thing for which we were tempted to be especially thankful at the last, was that the prayer had found its end. What heart, truly grateful for favors received, would thus seek its expression in a seriatim thanksgiving, through a perfunctory schedule of particulars! And what man in the church, had not better join in chanting, "Bless the Lord, O my soul," than be constrained to follow in this kind of thing? We shall endeavor to show that the instances here adverted to, are but so many of a large class of mistakes growing out of the notion that the church-prayer must be free to go to present particular circumstances; that the utmost fulness in connection with brevity, is the true quality of church-prayer—and that this is impossible to be attained in an extemporal service, for the reason that it is impossible to put the same weight of matter in as small a number of extemporal sentences, as can be done by study and reflection and patience with the pen. The practical test is found in their tediousness. When our people shall stand, or kneel, or give any other sign of common-prayer, we may believe the extem-

poral prayer is not so unsuitable for the church, as we are constrained to hold it.

Another argument much urged in favor of the extemporal service is, that the minister is free to use his gift of prayer, whereas the Liturgy gives no place for unction, and importunate pleading in prayer. Here again we claim this as a strong argument in favor of the Liturgy. In no other way have we known the feelings of reverent minds to be more distressingly pained by mistakes in the public prayer, than from the use of the very familiarity of pleading, and importunate urgency of entreaty, here claimed for the prayer. This kind of thing may do when the congregation are under such a state of religious feeling as turns the sanctuary into a closet, but for a minister to be pleading face to face with God, while the people are elevated into no right at all to such nearness of the Holy Presence, is very unbecoming. Besides, the popularity of this description of prayer is a temptation to ministers to aim at what is called holy eloquence in prayer, a thing which we take to be anything but holy, or at all proper in the sanctuary. As for that theory out of which this kind of prayer has arisen, that one object of the church-prayer, is for the "exciting and stirring up of devotion," we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be unscriptural. This is the business of the exhortation. So far from the notion that it belongs to the prayer to do this, the Holy Scriptures show us, in every form of public prayer contained in its inspired pages, and most significantly in the express form given for the Christian Church, that such prayer is ever to be characterized by the guarded solemnity, dispassionateness, and holy awe, of its phraseology, style and procedure.

The qualities of prayer above claimed, as against the Liturgical use, that of applicability to present occasions, and that of the spirit of importunate pleading, are qualities sacred to closet prayer. Here the Christian may get alone with the Saviour, and may be so humbled in his holy presence as to warrant the utmost particularity and urgency. But the service of the sanctuary is properly the Liturgical sacrifice of the church, and it proceeds, like the temple service of old, and like the angelic choirs above, veiling the face and bowing the head and singing,

holy, holy, holy, with reverent and deliberate carefulness, with the spirit of the most sacred awe.

We have thus brought into notice, what we take to be some of the characteristic defects of the modern style of public prayer, as contrasted with, what we have called the Liturgical, and may, for convenience sake, sometimes call the ecclesiastical, the churchly, and the patristic. Whenever we use either of these four adjectives, in connection with this subject, we mean thereby to describe a kind of prayer, or devotional service, which is generically, and very widely different, from the modern style of prayer and devotional constructions, and which we shall indifferently call the Modern, the Reformed, the Puritanic, never for one moment using any of these terms as implying disrespect. Our whole subject indeed is one that should be approached with solemn feelings, and if we know our own mind, we would not wish to say a disrespectful word of the true prayers of any of God's people. But it is our conscientious and most deliberate conviction and feeling, that our present church-prayers generally, and the theory upon which they are constructed, are for the most part, very seriously at fault; that the reformation, and modern, form of prayer, has not grown out of those constructive principles which lie at the foundation of the best church-service and liturgy. It must now be our aim, to make this charge and statement good, as against the modern use, and in favor of the patristic. In one word, it is our opinion that according to the modern theory and practice of church-worship, the sanctuary has been converted into the closet, and the idea of a liturgical service, which the Church on earth is keeping up together with the Church and the angelic choirs in heaven, has been lost sight of. We can admit no other account of the militant church-service, except that it is the Church on earth worshipping God after a manner as nearly as possible, in the circumstances of the case, like to that which is doing in heaven. And we look to the Word of God for the description and for the warrant.

Let us endeavor then, to state more specifically, the elements of distinction between the two kinds of public prayer. The modern prayer is subjective; it is the individual praying for

himself with a conscious personal application; the modern prayer is discursive, it endeavors to pray for everything by way of particular mention; so that, to be at all inclusive and satisfactory, it must become scientific. That is to say, it lies under the necessity of formal classification as to its elements, and so is constantly led off towards the catechism, towards the doctrinal symbol. The Liturgical prayer, on the opposite hand, gives to the mind and heart a series of collectual forms, pregnant sentences, sacred formulas and voiceful responsals, which have the force of prescriptive embodiments, suggestive of whole classes of religious needs, feelings, states, and desires; so that the same utterance in the service will be equally applicable to very different states of mind among the people. For example, the particular and narrative subjective prayer can only be followed by those whose present state is met as it proceeds in its petitions. Of course, we mean, as it respects the satisfaction of special states of heart. If it be a good prayer, it can be followed by all present; but it comes home to special feelings only as it supplies particular applications to such existing states of feeling. Hence the prayer must be very long, very particular, and very numerical. On the other hand, let the call *Cursum corda* in the Liturgy come, and all men, the penitent, the heavy laden, the happy and rejoicing, can equally find it good to lift up their spirits to the heavenly Presence. So too, how many states of heart are ever to be found in the congregation, to which the single versicle, "The Lord be with you," and the required return of blessing, "and with thy spirit," is a more healing cordial, and a more helpful prayer, than any personal petition could be, at the time? Thus, the Liturgical prayer is objective, it looks to heaven, it worships with angels, it moves amidst bodily realities, and it prays for spiritual things under tangible forms; thus leading the individual out of himself, and turning the particular voice of his private devotions into the one great voice of the Body, which is the Church. This is a point which we feel to be of the utmost importance. It is our firm conviction, for example, that to a spiritually minded Christian, the liturgical prayer is more spiritual, more scripturally spiritual, and more safe, or at least

more catholic, as the norm for the cultivation of the devotional habits, and so far forth of the Christian character and piety, than the particularizing form, which enuemerates every actual present state, and gives expression to religious feelings only, or chiefly, in the way of express and literal petitions. How often do we find young Christians down hearted and melancholic Christians, as well as excessively pietistic Christians, to whom we would say, leave off for a while the direct consideration of your individual cases, and sing a hallelujah Psalm, praise the Lord in a Doxology, say the Lord's Prayer, make supplication for the "king and all in authority," forget yourself in the body and mingle your note in the universal voice of the Church. How often is the private Christian in that state when laboring under trial or temptation, he has well nigh strangled himself in his vain attempts to elaborate his prayers to his particular distress, and the Lord's Prayer, if he is so fortunate as to be accustomed to its use, comes in like an angel from the skies, leading him out of prison. Now we are free to admit, that the Christian who thinks, in the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," of nothing but temporal blessings, is in danger of resting on carnal ground; but the Christian, who, together with this, and under this form, holds in the view of his spirit, that unspeakable mystery of the Incarnation, through the grace of which the Holy Spirit feeds his soul and body and spirit,—the Christian who, under the the form of earthly bread, and while praying for earthly bread and all things, is praying for the consummation of the bread of life within him,—*that* Christian we believe to be making quite as spiritual a prayer, as when he is praying more directly for abstract spiritual graces. It is our opinion, indeed, that, so doing, he is engaged in making a *more* spiritual prayer than the other, and one infinitely more so, than what generally goes by the name of "spiritual." The inspired word of God teaches us, that the prayer for spiritual blessings under tangible and actual forms, should characterize our habits of prayer, for the same reason that the Person of our Saviour should characterize our theological and religious views. As that Christian is the most scripturally spiritual, who makes the

most of what the Holy Scriptures make the All in All, namely, the Lord Jesus, the Son of David, the Son of God; so that habit of prayer is the most scripturally, and of course, the most truly spiritual, which is formed upon the Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is like the Liturgical prayers, it is not like the modern prayer.

Before further urging, however, the Scriptural parallel, in favor of the patristic theory of church-prayer, let us in the present position of our subject, look back for a moment to the aesthetical argument. What, for example, is better calculated to draw a man out of himself, than to address his poetic and emotional nature by means of good art? What is better calculated to help a misanthropic, a settled down-cast, a religious-melancholy state of mind, than to carry the patient over the ocean, and place him in view of the cathedrals and the good religious art of the old world? How do our best and holiest domestic feelings find adequate expression only in utterances of signs, and symbols, and sacred services. What is the meaning of these senses of ours, through which all nature, in sights and sounds of loveliness, power, and glory, is exhibiting forms to the *soul's sense*, forms which are the only and the divinely constituted sufficiency of utterance to so many of our best feelings, and archetypal symbols exhibited to our noblest sentiments and loftiest aspirations? And why, throughout the entire frame-work of this, our mortal life, why in the Providential ordering of society, why in letters, art, and song, is this poetic prerogative of our constitution everywhere addressed, in form and symbol, far more ultimately influential over our whole estate and condition, than any other, except the directly divine means of spiritual conveyance to the man? Why, in a word, have we bodies, and why is it made necessary that we enter heaven, not in clouds of *abstractions*, but in a glory-train of intellectual and spiritual *forms?* And why is it, to bring the matter home at once, why is it that the cultivation of the man through arts and letters, so operates to refine, to humanize, and to render him unselfish and catholic, but that it tends to diminish his conscious individualism, throwing him into the midst of continuous generations and general powers? Now

the Old Testament economy, the actual life of our blessed Lord, and the manifest teachings of the whole Word of God, do not leave us at liberty to take man's poetic nature, as when sanctified, one great earthly instrument of insight and power, from the Church and the life of religion in the soul, any more than it requires the man to close the eye of reason and imagination to heavenly intuitions as they beam upon his soul and spirit through the world and through society. It is not *well* for a man to hold himself, feelings or interests too much in view, nor is it well for him to turn his soul from the salutary view of that grand array of forms which garnish the whole heavens of this our life in the flesh, and retire into the pent-house of his merely worldly faculties, to find his universe and home. So doing, he must become contracted in his views, ungraceful in his sentiments, bigoted and censorious in his judgments, and unamiable in his feelings.

To apply the principle to the matter in hand. We have said, substantially, that the essential distinction between the liturgical and the reformed constructive theory of church-prayer, lies in this, that the one is the creation of the intuitional and poetic faculties under the guidance of faith objective and the Spirit; the other is far more the product of the dualistic faculties, certainly under the same guidance, it may be under a more enlightened subjective faith, but not in the association of the intuitional faculties and the making powers of the soul; not so much under the control of imagination, nor in our opinion, of the best form of devotional feeling, because when the critical faculty is at work, intuition falls into abeyance and faith becomes self-conscious; and that the result is in the one case, exceedingly condensed and forceful, devotional forms of catholic application and power; precisely, as in the analagous case, the same age was commissioned to embody an universal formula of faith in the creed,—the results in the other case, were excellent, instructive, and as it were, provincial prayers, well adapted to the time, but altogether too partial for universal use. If asked how it is that the Nicene age could make the Nicene symbol, and also make a good Liturgy, while the Reformation age could make such noble catechisms, and did not make one good liturgy, we have no answer. It might have

been due to the age of the world, it might have been due to the fact that the critical attention of their minds were turned to the settling of divine and sacramental mysteries, rather than to the examination of more abstract doctrines—we can entertain no doubt of the premises, and can only say such was the Divine will. It is not improbable, however, that the four great Liturgies were formed long before the Nicene age. To return to the application of the principle referred to: It is simply, that, seeing we are addressed by the voice and hand of the Lord, everywhere else, through forms, forms in speech, forms in nature, forms in Providence, at every turn; and that these forms become, necessarily, signs and symbols to our best thoughts, emotions and sentiments, how can it be otherwise than that we should expect to be addressed in the same way, as it respects our religious nature and feelings? And further, since we *are* so addressed in the Church, and in the sacraments, it becomes highly probable, to say the least, that we should also be so addressed in the Liturgy. We regret the necessity of using the word Art so frequently, only, however, because the same word is used to include that which we abhor. But as we cannot but see that the visible Church and sacraments address the same part of our mental constitution, namely, our imagination, our reason, or faculty of intuition, and the faculty of wonder or mystery, which the Lord has given us, the same faculties which are addressed in lower forms of power and beauty throughout the world, and as there is no other term which embraces the facts, principles and products of the making faculties, except this term Art, we are compelled to use it. We say then, and can thus shortly express our view, that just what the Church and the sacraments are to the spiritual man, as a being capable of Art, that precisely, that is to say, that by the same "kind and force of working," is the Liturgy to him. And it is this sense we have in mind, when we say that the Liturgy is not only artistic, and *hence*, all-inclusive and very forceful, but it is mystical, and *hence*, has a character which makes it more truly than a didactic service can ever be, complemental to the Church and sacraments.*

* Only those who are not much accustomed to aesthetic phraseology would

The difference between the two kinds, will, of course, if the ground taken be correct, be fairly tested and clearly revealed, only in the actual experiments of them. The state of the case, as thus tested in the present practice of the Churches, is just this: The didactic prayer, the prayer which, in the absence of all suggestive forms, symbols, and inclusive apothegms of devotional phrase, is forced to the particular enumeration of states, conditions and graces, prayed for,—this kind of prayer, we find to be unable, as a matter of fact, to enforce or to conciliate the general attention of the people. It must be allowed, that the cases are exceptional, among the unliturgical Churches of our land, in which the people consent in a common posture of worship, or in general, have the appearance of solemn worshippers under the willing constraint of a dread and holy Presence. The liturgical prayer, on the contrary, the form of service which, we maintain, addresses itself more intuitively to the devotional nature, and upon a far profounder, and more complete theory of religious habit, does command the attention, and has secured the enthusiastic love of its most pious possessors. It is a simple matter of fact, which we feel constrained to account for upon purely intrinsic reasons, that the Episcopal congregations of our land are the most faithful of any among us, to their own form of worship. It is our belief that their Liturgy compels that attention, for the same reason that the Temple-service of old, compelled attention; and that that service compelled attention through the force of its artistic appeals, through the imagination and reason, to the faith and devotional sentiments of the worshipper.

It is equally a matter of fact, that the unliturgic Churches

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feel objection to the placing the Church and sacraments, in any sense, on the ground of Art. As we have said, we much wish there were a sacred word to use instead. The things included under the word *Art*, are the products of the poetic faculties, imagination, reason, taste, wonder, &c., and when we say "man is a being capable of art," we mean he is a being capable of being instructed, moved, affected, by forms addressed to these artistic faculties. The whole world of nature, the volume of Revelation, and the most permanent monuments of Divine Providence, constantly address this, among other parts of our nature, and surely we are so addressed in the Church and in the Holy Sacraments. What we mean, then, when we say that the Liturgy is a form of religious art, is simply that it addresses the sanctified man, as in other ways certainly, so also, through the intellectual ideal part of his nature, and *that*, in its own distinctive way, and not in the way of *mere* intellection.

of our land have not that in their mode of service which has succeeded, after any positive sort, in exciting the enthusiasm or winning the hearty love of the people. On the contrary, the general unsatisfactoriness of the extemporal service, has come to be a matter of serious complaint. It is painful, but it is truth, and the acknowledging of the truth will do us good. We ask as sadly as we do confidently: What number of the unwritten and unstudied prayers, which ascend from the altars of our churches on any given Sunday, would we wish, or be willing to have taken down and printed in a book? It may appear to some, that the practical test ought not to determine so momentous a question. We are of opinion that it ought, because to our mind the fact of an inattentive and irreverent congregation is a momentous wrong; and we hold that if the Liturgy offers to correct this state of things, then it is the churches' duty to make the trial.

If, however, we should still be called upon to make out more expressly what we mean all along by this "generic difference" between the patristic and the reformed prayer, we would instance the communion-service, or liturgy proper. And for convenience of reference, let us take that which we find in the Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, and compare it with Calvin's or with Baxter's forms. We will gladly stop a moment to say that we yield to no man in the degree of veneration and gratitude, we entertain for the memory and labors of these holy men. It is our belief, that no grander, no nobler, no more magnificent man has been sent into this world and into the Church, for many ages, than the great and good Calvin. Nor is the Church only indebted to his wonderful mind for the vast body of theological and exegetical labors he has left, but also for many excellent prayers. We refer especially to the short prayers printed with his lectures on the Prophets. They are more in the spirit of the ancient collects than any remaining prayers of the great Reformers.† Now,

† It is not to be doubted that, had Calvin come to Geneva earlier than he did, he would have made his Liturgy far more churchly than it is. It is on record in his own words, that he regretted, as it was, his consenting to leave out the Absolution, and the urgency with which he pressed and carried the

as it respects Calvin's Liturgy, it is chiefly valuable as a doctrinal symbol. The sacramental controversy appears on its pages. The true Liturgy expresses itself in the absolute forms of the truth, and never by emphasis, argument, or any other form of statement, starts the idea of doubt, or of controversy. For the purpose of regular use at communion, therefore, we cannot look upon this office as being properly constructed. We should fear to hearken even to Calvin's teachings over every celebration of the sacraments, for the simple reason that the holy sacrament is its own great witness and teacher. Baxter's Liturgy possesses the same didactic and doctrinal character. It gives a symbolic exposition of the ordinance, by way of argument and protest, discourses of its solemnity, and defines the qualifications of partakers. Let us look now at the old form, as given in the Book of Common Prayer. The service opens with the Lord's Prayer, and then a collect for the Holy Spirit. The commandments are read with responsals, and prayer is made for the sanctification of body, soul and spirit. The word of God is acknowledged in the Holy Gospel, and the "glory" is given to God. They profess their faith in the creed. The offertory is made, while Scriptures are chanted. The command that prayer be made for rulers, for the Church, and for all men, is obeyed. All penitent sinners, all men of charity and good-will, are invited to the holy feast. They confess their sins, and receive the form of absolution. They are reminded of the comfortable words of our Saviour; the *Sursum Corda*, and the Angelic Hymn, invites them to the Holy Presence. The consecration follows, which is in the simple language of the inspired narrative, accompanied by such a prayer of oblation and invocation as might almost reconcile us to the notion of the apostolic origin of portions of the Church liturgies. The partaking is followed by a short prayer, based upon the truth of the real presence, when they rise and worship God, giving thanks in the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Now there is not in all this, except in the exhortation on

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point of the restoration of the Christmas Festival, is well known. Indeed no man but such as we call a churchly man, could have held the view of the real presence, and of the resurrection-day, which Calvin held.

the preceding Sunday, a word by way of catechetical instruction on the nature of the ordinance, and yet the very fulness of that instruction is embodied in the service, to a degree that none of the Reformed Liturgies, and it is our opinion none of the Reformed symbols, in this particular case, so well contain, although the Reformed symbols generally do contain the truth. What we wish to say is, that the truth contained in the Holy Supper, is of such a nature, that the adequate embodiment of the same in the Liturgy, will form the best book of instruction on the subject, at least a book indispensably complemental to the Catechism; or, as the great and good Coleridge has expressed it, that "the study, on the bended knees, of this office, together with the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, will furnish the best preparation for partaking the sacrament."

But still now the question recurs: How have we made out the distinguishing difference between the old and the modern form, and in favor of the former? We have done this by actual reference to a Liturgy, and to the corresponding modern office, and by directing attention to the point, as a matter of fact and observation; by which it appears that, in the one case, there is exhibited to the heart and spirit, as well as to the mind generally, an EMBODIMENT *of the truth in the way of* FORM; while in the other, we have a PROMULGATION *of the truth more directly to the intellect, in the way of special dogma and literal discourse.* And we conclude that the one is most effective and the best, because most in accordance with the constituted theory of our human natures, as it respects the apprehension of sacramental truth; and that the same is most Scriptural because it makes far the most use of Holy Scripture, because by promise, confession, supplication, prayer and worship, it seeks to lift up the heart and spirit, towards the preparation of the Lord's coming, and then exhibits the holy sacrament, in its pure and single glory, to the sight and faith of the partaker, leaving the Word of God to work its own promise in the ordinance. Whereas the other form, instead of consisting principally in Scripture, prayer, confession, and worship, is too much made up of human discourse, discourse at the beginning, discourse even during the administration, and discourse at the

end. Thus is it in danger of hiding the Lord's mystery under an intervening mass of mortal speech; thus is it in constant danger of so dealing with the understanding as to bewilder the spirit and harass the faith of Christ's children, at the very time when they ought to be left to the word of ordinance and the Spirit of the Lord.

If it is asked, how the liturgical characteristics spoken of, appear in the other parts of the divine service, in the ante-communion, or proanaphoral portions; we answer, that the entire service of the ancient Church commenced, proceeded, and ended, in the constant doxology of the name into which we are baptized; we answer, again, that after the idea of the same all-including form, there are certain prescriptive liturgical formulas from Holy Scripture, in the way of responsals, versicles, doxologies and commutual benediction—forms which are originally well adapted, and which use has appropriated, as symbolical expressions, for all classes and states of religious feeling, and for the entire scope of public worship, and which are often accompanied with an astonishing power over the heart. Thus have we seen in our own churches, when the choir has changed the tune from the last hymn, and the whole congregation are led to break forth in a well known doxology to the well known *Old Hundreth.* Thus have we seen, when in the communion-service of the Liturgy, they have sought to join their voices, in the sublime *Tersanctus*, with the "holy" of the cherubic hosts above. Again we answer, this organic and embodied life-character of the old Liturgies, and of course their inclusive and suggestive character appears in those singularly condensed and perfect individual unities, the collect-prayers; in those scriptural songs of men and women pronounced blessed of the Lord; in the matchless holy march and grandeur of the "Hymn of Ambrose;" in that, surely, heaven-descended plaint and supplication of the Litany—in a word, and as it respects the whole, in something that we have not said, in something that we cannot tell, but in something which all who have fairly made the trial, know and feel.

As it respects the more direct religious bearing of the view we have thus far taken, we would be willing to test it even by

a personal and private experiment. Of course freedom from either habit of use must be supposed. Now let a Christian be standing in need of prayers to cover his whole religious state at any given time. Let him take any book which has been written containing general prayers, and prayers for particular occasions; Becon or Baxter or Erasmus or Jeremy Taylor. Let him try them, and then put into his hands the Litany and a collection of the old collects. If he does not find a sense of satisfaction in the use of the latter, which he was always feeling after and could not find, in the use of the former, his experience will greatly differ from our own, and, we cannot hesitate to say, from what it does appear to us, the Holy Scriptures define to be the best. This, we think, will fairly test the question, which is the best for direct religious use, the Liturgical or the Reformed? Because what the Litany and the collects are, such are the form and spirit of the entire ancient service. If we cannot make it appear that this form and spirit are most in accordance with Holy Scripture, then we must at once give up the question.

The general characteristic of the Liturgy, now insisted on, as contrasted with the almost exclusively didactic character of the modern use, is that it does not, as regards the general idea of its construction, have a conscious respect to the particular case and experience of the worshipper, but rather seeks through the exhibition of the visible Church, and of objective forms of worship, to draw the individual away from his present subjective state of mind and consciousness, whether it be a state of joy or of sorrow, and to constrain him, willingly and unawares, to become, with all his experiences, a veritable and assisting part in the confessions, repentings, supplications and rejoicings of the universal body which is in heaven and on the earth, one and indistinguishable.

Our first argument in behalf of the scriptural character of this theory of church-worship, might be drawn from the presumptions, at least, in its favor, as found in the public services under the Mosaic dispensation. We know very well, however, that this would be at once opposed and reverted by the fact of the abolition of that economy. This would necessarily lead

into a discussion, for the time, too far away from our subject. Suffice it then to say, that the study of the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as of the scope of the New Testament generally, must convince us that the coming of our Lord to fulfil the law and so to abolish the letter of it, has not rendered obsolete those principles of our religious being, which were addressed under the law. We still worship God in the sanctuary, we still keep holy the Sabbath day, we still teach our little children the commandments. The truth of this whole subject is symbolized to our minds, in the eternal reality of our Saviour's resurrection body. More than this we cannot say, in connection with the subject in hand.

We will turn, then, to a scriptural illustration, which shall leave no room for controversy as to its applicability. We refer to the Psalms of David. They were written for the public, as well as private use of the Church. The responsive reading and chanting of these sacred songs and prayers have formed integral portions of the Liturgies from time immemorial. Now it is remarkable, and must have been noticed by all who have studied the Psalms, how remote they appear to be from their historical occasions. This remark applies immediately, of course, only to those whose historical occasions we know. But of these, with the single exception of the Fifty-first, and in that the penitent loses his case in Zion at the end, how few apparent traces can we find of particular individual reference, that is to say, of such a *kind* of particular reference, as would prevent us from making the passage our own? With these let us class other inspired songs, as Miriams, Simeons, the Magnificat. Now, why were these Scriptures led forth in this particular, and, at *the same time*, general way? Why do the Psalms of David differ so much, so vastly, in this respect, from the uninspired psalmody of the Church? Why, if we wish, say in the pulpit, to select a sacred song with a special reference to the sermon, do we turn to the hymns, instead of turning to the Psalms? Why but that there may be a deep and universal principle of the religious life involved in it, namely, that the case of the individual is significant primarily and principally as it respects the edification and the unity of the Body

of Christ, and that the best way for the soul to become truly religious, and to grow religiously, is to get out of itself and merge itself in that Body? It teaches us imperatively that it behooves the individual who is conducting a church-service to see to it, by the earnest labors of his soul, that he give not his personal experience to be the norm of what should be, and the Bible requires at our hands, a general service, a service of common prayer, common faith, common hope and common worship. It is under this aspect of the subject, that we are always struck with the solemnity and awfulness of the office of the *Leitourgos*—what patient study, what self-restraint, what emptying of one's self, what a world almost of pre-requisites, are involved, what an universal and many-sided symbol, as it were, must he become, who would undertake to extemporize a complete church-service. Alas, is it not asking too much of any mortal man to do such a work of himself? It is more than most men can do to carry a single litany in mind without having committed it to memory.

Our next scriptural reference, in corroboration of the scriptural construction of the Church liturgies, is to the Lord's Prayer. And here we are met by the obvious fact that among all the Churches of the Reformation in this country, there is one, and one only, which has retained this prayer in its Sunday service, and whose people are generally in the private use of it, and that Church is a liturgical Church. Now we may seek to explain this as we choose; we may even take up the constrained sophistry of our persecuted Puritan fathers, inexcusable even in their case, and voluntarily put away from our souls the possible blessedness of having a prayer in the very words of our Saviour to His Father and ours, upon the possible supposition that it is not a form, but a directory of prayer. Whichever it is, it is equally certain that our Churches make no general use of it; we do not pray it, and we do not pray according to its theory and spirit, and our people are not, after childhood, in the regular use of it, or of its method. We do not pray in the Church, according to its theory and spirit, inasmuch as the Lord's Prayer is made up of successive unities of worship, petition, ascription, doxology, each perfect in itself,

each a symbol of the whole class of things which it contains and suggests, and all related into a perfect unity, even as the man is one, having many faculties and members. Whereas our Church prayers, generally, are long, continuous, didactic and exegetical productions, or else they are rambling, we must say in many cases, not reverent, rhapsodies, and tiresome, desultory special discourses of request and supplication, among unarranged particulars of graces and blessings. There is no better evidence of the truthfulness of the essential incompatibility of our style of prayer and the Lord's Prayer, than the fact that where our ministers are endeavoring to restore the use of the Lord's Prayer, it seems at first so difficult to make it fit in with the style and spirit of the service generally. In the Church liturgies, on the contrary, it is not only homogeneous with the other parts of the service, it is the type and exemplar of the whole, so that it may be used, without the least awkwardness at any point of the service, and carried concurrent with it. It forms the leading portion of each great division of the Liturgies, and may be repeated, as it is on Communion in the American Common Prayer, and several times repeated as in the English, and it is well done. As they begin, or ought to begin, in the name by which we are saved, and continue the same throughout the service, as they ought to do, so they may enter the church and say privately the Lord's Prayer, they may use it in the service, and they may say it privately at the close, and they shall do well, they shall do according to the entire spirit and scope of their liturgy; and they shall do according to examples of Holy Scripture. It is the favorite method of Holy Scripture to repeat the word and the service, as in the constant repetitions in the Psalms, the forms of confession, blessing, doxology, and once for all, as in that sacred example of our suffering Lord, a reference to which need only be indicated here.

Our next and last particular scriptural reference for the similarity of liturgical worship and scriptural worship, shall be to the cherubic hymns given in the Book of the Revelation. "And they rest not day and night, saying Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was and is and is to come."

"Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power, for Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." "After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice saying 'Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb;' and all the angels stood round about the throne, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying 'Amen—Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God, forever and ever,—Amen."

We certainly are not about to maintain that any such worship as this is actual in any portion of the militant Church. But what we do maintain, is, that if there is a church-service upon earth which does resemble it, that service lies in the compass of the old liturgies, and that service is actual in the liturgical Church. We have only to compare the Reformed and modern form and usages of church-worship, with the responsive and Amen service of the Liturgy, its Angelic and Cherubic Hymns, its "Therefore with Angels and Archangels," its "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be," along side of the above inspired description, in order to see which is the most like the church-service of the Apocalypse.

Here then, we have all these things:—the Psalms of the Old Testament Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, the Baptismal Formula, the Christian Doxology, the Apostles' direction as to the "first of all" of the public prayer, the divinely enjoined Amen, the inspired apocalypse of the heavenly worship, both as it respects its material and its responsive form, and a fulness of scriptural lessons, from the Law, the Prophets, the Gospels and the Epistles, all uniting as integral parts and well adjusted unities of a single service. How can it be otherwise than that a service which is so full of actual Scripture, and of the very parts of Scripture sacred to devotional purposes, should possess a Scriptural character in its remaining parts also, and

that the whole should be a homogeneous product? It may, indeed, as we have already admitted, and do again admit, be a question whether the worship of the present Church be properly that of a liturgical service, or whether it be that of a larger meeting of Christian families for instruction and prayer; but, looking upon the Reformed and its present descendants, as well as upon the Ancient and its present descendants, in the light of a *Service*, there cannot be room for question, which is the most Scriptural. Most Scriptural, that is, in possessing most Scriptures, and in being like the Scriptures in the form, style, theory, and spirit of its devotional make and fashion. We do not say that our services are unscriptural; may we be saved from the imputation; we are sure that the people of God, the saints of the Most High have ever been and are in our Churches; but we cannot but see that our services have not so much of Scripture as to actual amount, nor, we fear, so much as to what we cannot but feel to be the right theory of church-worship, as the revival of the liturgy would give us.

When we look at the amount of Scripture exhibited daily to the ancient people of the Christian Church, (and they had their "Sacred Books" at home as well as we,) when we remember how their souls were fed in the chaunted Psalter, daily, nightly, at early morn, at festivals, fasts, funerals and litany-supplications, when we remember the perpetual readings out of the Old Testament and out of the New, when we consider how the one ceaseless voice in the Church was to them almost exclusively the very Word of God; and then when we compare with this broad, and ever-flowing, this living stream, the small, the diluted, the paroxismal, rivulets of Holy Scripture furnished in the Reformed and modern service, how can we help being arrested by this most significant difference, how at least *must* we not examine this matter and see if we have the true view? How, unless it be that we are under the blinding influence of a false theory, how is it that with our undoubted private love and reverence for the Word of God, how is it that our people like to have so little of it read in the Church, and so much of human talk about it? How is it that we have not leaped to the Lord's Prayer? How is it that at the Holy Supper, be-

fore and during and after its celebration, the people can prefer to listen to the confusing words and exhortations of man, when the Bible gives us the very words of Institution, the circumstances of it, and the identical discourse and prayers of our Lord connected with it? It merely evades the question to say, we have our Bibles at home. The Bible belongs to the Church, and it is upon the Word of God that the Church feeds and is fed.

The fathers of the primitive Church made their sermons upon the Scriptures of the day, and the clergy were very early prohibited by rule from taking their subjects except from the Lections, and from ever making an exposition or exhortation, till after the full passage had been read in its place. How is it that our people prefer a running commentary on the chapter? Can it be that we have so little practical faith in the efficacy of the pure word of Inspiration? Christians of old met, as we meet, in what we *call* prayer-meetings, but which are with us, in reality, meetings still for discourse and exhortation; they spent the time in the reading of Scripture and the responsive chanting of the Psalms. How long would it take us to bring our people to a hearty and profiting consent, to the occupying of the evening lecture by a prayer, a hymn, and the continuous reading of an Apostolic Epistle? Why, in a word, do we feel it actually necessary to mingle our human teachings, with every service and with every sacrament? Is it in order to keep up the attention of the congregation, and if so, what does it imply? Whatever be the reason, we cannot hesitate to say, that it is wrong. It is not necessary that every service should be a sermon, and it is not good that we should practice so little holy daring in reference to the simple word of Inspiration. Our own opinion is, that the early Christians found the word of God, as read, to be sufficient, for the same reason they found that word as existing in their liturgical forms, sufficient, and that is, that they were thoroughly habituated to the suggestive, the all-inclusive, the mystic power of the words of Holy Scripture, both as read and as prayed; and that in our case the spiritual effort involved is too hard. We prefer discourse and exhortation, in the church, for the same

reason that the Sunday paper or the religious story, is but too apt to tempt us to withdraw our minds from the holy volume in our houses.

We will conclude our argument with one more reference. It is to the voice of the Church. And we simply suggest if there be not room, at least for the presumption, that men whose only book was the Bible, men who were commissioned to settle for all ages, the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, men living at the very age of the Church and of the world, which we might naturally suppose would be set to the work of arranging the liturgical service, men too living in an age before the progress of society had impaired the mystical sense (which is the main liturgy-making sense,) and men who actually did prepare Liturgies,—is it not at least probable, we ask, that from these productions we can learn something as it respects the question of what the public service of the Christian Church ought to be? Do not these liturgies at least come down to us with an imperativeness equal to that of the creeds?

If now we have at all succeeded in what we have taken in hand, we have shown, at any rate we have tried to show, that between the patristic forms of prayer and church-service, and the Reformed, or modern (in which we include, as well the written forms of the Reformers, as our present written, or unwritten practice, based upon them) there is a very wide and essential difference, a difference, not only formal, but intrinsic and real. We have taken the Psalms of David, the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelic Hymns, as being the constitutive elements of the patristic form and theory of prayer, and endeavored to show that the difference between the Reformed offices and these Scriptural types, is the same as that which obtains between the Reformed and the Patristic. That that difference mainly lies in the fact that the scriptural prayer, and form of devotion, is symbolic rather than narrative, general (we are speaking in relation to the church-service) rather than particular, and hence suggestive and universal. That even those scriptural forms of devotion, praise, thanksgiving and prayer, which originally grew out of particular national

and individual occasions, are nevertheless so framed, and were so framed for the individual, that they should answer the religious needs of the whole world and for all time. That the inference is legitimate and fair, that the church-service should be so framed that all individual experience, hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, supplications, and worship, should be gathered into one voice and symbol of Common Prayer, and that the Liturgy, in virtue of its mystical, objective, and symbolical character effects this grand result. That it can only be effected in this way, as against the modern prayer which becomes inclusive only by being particular, (except as the *leitourgos*, may happen to be a good religious artist or poet,) that its constant temptation is to discourse, or else to become eloquent, that in consequence of these characteristics, consequence and cause, it becomes principally a mental effort, it becomes conscious of itself and method, and then nothing but the supposition, which we cannot always make, of the true *spirit* of prayer, can save it from becoming little else than a narrative, an argument, a sermon, or a raphsody, which had better be said with the eyes open, and the face turned upon the congregation. We hold, therefore, that the liturgical prayer is the most spiritual prayer, because it is like the Lord's Prayer, because it addresses through sensible forms and symbols, a greater number of the spiritual parts of our constitution,—our faculties of reason, imagination, and wonder, being more exalted than the faculties of memory and understanding; and because it can be most spiritually used, that is by the minister, provided his heart be willing, without which he is guilty of formalism in either use, since it does away with the necessity of the mental effort, and leaves the heart and spirit free.

Let us look for a moment at the practical bearing of our view of the subject, upon the liturgical movement, to some extent excited of late in nearly all our Churches. We look upon it as one of the most hopeful signs among us. We believe that many questions will be solved by it, and among others not the least, the truly perilous state of the Church as brought out by the growing sound of the people's murmurs and complaints of the preaching. We would say then, let us get the best service we

can. We believe that any one of the Reformed Liturgies is preferable to an unstudied service; while, at the same time, we believe that they are all so very defective, that we should hesitate to fix the weekly devotions of a congregation to the perpetual use of any one of them. Still we are not permitted to look upon this matter on merely abstract grounds. Doubtless there are clergymen in our Churches who do make the service a matter of most conscientious study, and whose services, therefore, are satisfactory and edifying. But when we call to mind the cases of our younger brethren, when we recollect how many of our ministers feel that they ought *not* to make liturgical preparations, when we think of the feeble churches on our borders, in remote country places, and of churches, without pastors, and then too when we think of our crying need of baptismal, eucharistic, marriage and funeral offices, we are almost ready to say, let us have the Liturgy, and let us have it fixed; though it be no more complete than Baxter's or Calvin's, still it would be far better, on the whole, than the actual state of things. There is, however, a more excellent way. Let us have a good and large selection of the Reformed Liturgies printed, and let us have a large collection of the old Liturgies, at least those known as the four great Liturgies, printed with them, and let us have a copy of the Book of Common Prayer by their side. If this were done, and our ministers would consent to study these volumes, the very best thing would, in the end, be secured and accomplished. We are not to forget, however, that the people also are of the Church. We may not impose a form on any people. We may not volunteer to trouble any people by the question, who are getting on well enough for themselves, and do not wish to be troubled about it. We may judge their way to be very defective, but if they are not in positive error, it behooves us to proceed very carefully and then to do very kindly, and to do without noise, whatever we may think it our duty to do, in order to improve the devotional practice of such as wish for improvement. The work, however, like every reformation work, must in some way proceed from the clergy. Our own opinion is, that it should proceed in the way intimated. Let a minister study the old, as well as the

Reformation forms. This will naturally affect his own practice: he will come to make liturgical prayers more than didactic prayers, Trinity prayers more than Judaic prayers; he will make more of the simple Word of God in the service; he will of course use the Lord's Prayer; he will introduce Trinity hymns, instead of sermon hymns; he will use the creed; he will introduce the doxologies; he may get his people to chaunt the *Te Deum*, and the greater "*Gloria*;" he may even, after a season, invite his people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, to say Amen, and to read the Psalter together. All these things may a minister gradually do, if so be he conscientiously believe the people's piety would be benefitted by them. If not, he had better leave their ways alone. Now when these things are done, a proper liturgical work is done. A people thus prudently and piously trained, will soon feel the propriety of a common attitude of worship, soon feel the sententious and suggestive force of a good office, soon recover the objective idea and feeling of the Church, and it will not be long before they will request that these forms be printed for themselves and for their children. The way is then open, and we can answer their request by placing in their hands, and placing in the pulpit, such a Liturgy as the united work of the primitive and the Reformation Church, in these respects, will furnish. Luther and Basil, Bucer and Cyril, Cranmer and Ambrose and Calvin and Augustine, will have joined hands around the holy altar of the Church and the true day of freedom and love, of good will and good service, will have come.

And what are the bearings of our subject, as it respects the day of charity? The Church which has preserved the Liturgy for us, is indebted to us for doctrine. Take the thorough orthodoxy, the strict conscientiousness, the well cultivated sense of the Divine sovereignty, the private reverentialness, the spiritual depth, and the missionary spirit of Presbyterian religion and experience, and cast the same into the objective realness, the tangible churchliness, the catholic charity, the scriptural worship and the artistic finish of the genuine liturgic forms, and you have the earthly-perfect form of religion and piety. We hold that all that is best for the Christian man on earth,

is included in the Presbyterian and Episcopal branches of the Reformed Church. It is our opinion that the time has arrived at which, the sooner they are united, the better, for each, or both, and for the world. Again and again, we say, may the time come, and may this begin to be the time, when Calvin and Cranmer shall at length be united in the militant Church.

ART. II.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VII. MY TRAVELS IN PELOPONNESUS.

A. HISTORY OF THE DORIANS AND DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN SPARTA.

Condition of Greece during the Turkish dominion—Earlier travelers—Late discoveries—Grecian tribes—Ionians—Dorians—Their conquest of Peloponnesus—Lycurgus—Sparta at the height of her power—Roads into Laconia—Cynuria—Sellasia—Valley of the Eurotas—Fair of the Virgin—City of Misthras—Papa Oikonomides—Rusians of Sparta.

No country, in the old world, with the exception of Italy, has for the last three centuries been the object of so many literary inquiries, as ancient Greece. The collection of works, descriptive of that country, and of disquisitions on its history and antiquities, from the time of the revival of letters in the sixteenth century, down to the present day, would by itself, form an entire library. Artists and philologians have vied with one another to exhibit, in laborious publications, the monuments of the golden ages of ancient Hellas, to decipher and explain her numerous inscriptions, and to describe the interesting theatre of her eventful history.

Yet during the earlier part of this period, until the middle of the seventeenth century, the monuments, the scenery of the country, and the condition of its inhabitants, remained little known to the learned of western Europe. Greece, almost entirely devastated during the fierce wars between the Venetians and the Turks, and after the expulsion of the former in 1718, by the continual feuds of the Klephts or robbers, the indomitable mountaineers, against their Othoman oppressors, was but rarely and hastily visited by European travelers. In their rapid sketches, therefore, they often mixed fiction with truth; they described ancient monuments as still existing, which had disappeared centuries ago—nay, they connected the classical associations as lightly and uncritically with every locality in Greece, as the pious, but credulous pilgrims in Palestine, bestowed their scriptural names on every mountain, cavern, or modern convent.

The maps and illustrations accompanying those descriptive works were as extravagant and tasteless as they were incorrect, and we now smile at their laborious representations of ancient *Hellenic* cities with *Gothic* spires and towers, adorned with armorial escutcheons and streaming banners, or of Doric temples entirely disfigured by domes and cupolas in the quaint and absurd Dutch style of those times!

But soon a better taste in architecture began to result from deeper studies and more correct designs of the Hellenic monuments in Greece. The French painter, Jacob Carrey, who accompanied the Marquis of Nointel on his embassy to Constantinople, in 1674, was the first artist, who, in spirited sketches, copied the splendid sculptures of the Parthenon at Athens, as they still existed on the temple before its desolation during the siege of the Acropolis, in 1687.*

Nearly at the same time, Sir George Wheeler collected numerous inscriptions and gave a faithful account of the manners

* This collection of drawings in red crayon is deposited in the imperial library at Paris, and has not yet been published. Though roughly sketched, the designs are precious, as they enable us to explain the entire series of the now lost sculptures of the Parthenon, and to arrange and restore the different fragments which have been discovered during the late excavations undertaken by the Greek government on the Acropolis, at Athens.

and social relations of the Greeks, while the naturalist, Tournefort, 1700, visited the islands of the Ægean, and described the celebrated grotto of Anti-Paros; and the French Abbe Fourmont, in 1725, enriched our knowledge of Laconia by important inscriptions from Sparta and Amyklai, which, though for a time considered as inventions of the arrogant and vain Frenchman, have by the latest discoveries in Laconia been found alike precious and genuine.

Soon a new period in the history of architecture began with the publication of the magnificent volumes of the English architects, James Stuart and A. Rivett, which embrace the noblest monuments of Greece and Asia Minor, and have ever since exercised a permanent influence on the study of the fine arts both in Europe and in America.

With Stuart, in 1751, begins the long series of distinguished travelers, mostly English, French, Danes and Germans, who, with ardor, have continued their earlier investigations, and contributed by their writings, to throw quite a new light on almost every part of Grecian history and antiquities.

Important excavations, on a larger scale, were then undertaken on the islands, at Eleusis near Athens, and in Arcadia, and the inimitable statues and bas-reliefs from the Parthenon, from the temple of Minerva at Ægina, and from that of Apollo at Phigalia in Arcadia, were transported to the north, and now adorn the museums of Munich and London.

And yet great were the difficulties, the hardships and dangers of those enterprising travelers in the times of Turkish dominion in Greece. They had to flatter the haughty and suspicious Pashas, who would either refuse the European traveler admittance to the ancient monuments, nearly always forming part of the modern Turkish fortifications, or would only grant permission for undertaking excavations by bribery and rich presents. They were often exposed to attack and capture by the ruthless pirates of the sea, or by the Klephts in the mountains.

The English architect, Stuart, was in imminent danger of his life among the superstitious Turks of Saloniki, in Macedonia. Baron Stachelberg was captured by the wild pirates of

Skyros, and Chevalier Brondsted robbed and rifled of his baggage and papers by the Mainott outlaws of Mount Taygetos in Laconia.

Highway robbers in other countries are the outcasts of mankind. In Greece, on the contrary, they were looked upon as heroes and protectors of the oppressed people, who, by the desperate resistance of those savage mountaineers, baffled all the attempts of the Turks to obtain quiet and permanent possession of the country.

Protected, like the Circassians on Mount Caucasus, in their present warfare against the Russian aggressor, by their natural ramparts and their indomitable courage, the sons of the mountains made such havoc among the Turks of the plain, that they forced the indolent Pashas to take them into military service as a regular *police*, for the security of the country.

These large bodies of free-born mountain Klephts were now called by a nobler name, *armatoli;* their chiefs became *capitanæoi*, and the wild warriors themselves *pallikaria*, or handsome youths. The highlands were divided into captainships, (*kapitanata*) where the command of the district succeeded from father to son.

Yet, the Turks soon perceived the danger arising from such an organization of armed and daring native Christians. They repeatedly attempted to destroy the armatoli and their captains by treachery, and the ballads of modern Greece are full of the astonishing deeds of the heroes of Boukovalla, and Agrapha.

When at last the general insurrection broke out in the year 1821, it was these independent klephts or armatoli, at that time the only armed and organized part of the Greek nation, who, at once uniting with the clergy, the peasantry, and the shepherds of the plains, defeated the Turks, under the command of Kolokotronis, Botzaris and the other Captains, and thus became the bulwark of Grecian independence.*

* At the close of the war, the captains and their pallikars were rewarded with honors, money and lands, by the government of King Otho. Yet the roving propensities of the mountaineers still continued; the frontier lines on Mount Othrys, toward Thessaly, were frequently crossed by the wild Albanian bands, who, eluding the vigilance of the gendarms, would, like prowling wolves, commit depredations even in the very environs of Athens.

This insecurity, and the desolate state of the country, often obliged the travelers, at that time, to follow more or less the general route throughout the Morea and continental Greece, and put insurmountable difficulties in the way of any exact admeasurement of the interior. The maps of Greece, therefore, remained in a high degree incorrect and defective; and different regions of that country were almost entirely unknown. The first exact map of Greece, on a larger scale, and based on trigonometrical admeasurements, was begun, and in part published, by the scientific expedition which accompanied the French army of occupation in the Morea in 1828. Several engineer officers of the French staff were ordered by the government of Louis Philip to remain in Greece after the return of the troops, and they continued their labors for ten years, during the administration of Count Capodistrias and the reign of King Otho. The large map, in six sheets, was published in Paris, in 1838, and is a masterpiece of art. By the indefatigable exertions of Captain Bennoit and his colleagues, who suffered the greatest dangers and privations during their arduous undertaking, the site and true position of the ancient cities, castles, temples, sanctuaries, consecrated grottoes, and historically important passes and defiles, were now for the first time laid down with an accuracy which at once proved our ignorance of the topography of that beautiful and interesting country. Many of the most important events of Grecian history, such as, for instance, the invasion of Xerxes and the Persian army through the passes of Mount Oeta, the rapid and astonishing marches of King Philip of Macedon, through the defiles of Elateia, and the daring expedition of Epaminondas to Laconia, became clear and intelligible, and with these French maps in his hands, the traveler now finds himself as much at home in the wild mountain regions of Arcadia as in any part of civilized Europe.

Yet the reader, no doubt, will ask, if the desolating war of independence, raging throughout Greece from 1821 to 1830, has spared the monuments of better days. And it is with satisfaction we can answer, that no very material damage was done to those gigantic structures, which still to this day rear

their immense columns proudly above the humble modern dwellings at their base.

At the establishment of the more regular government of Count Capodistrias, care was taken for their preservation, and a national museum became formed on the island of Ægina, which at that time was the capital of liberated Greece.

Yet all this was only a beginning—a morning dawn of a more brilliant day—for quite a new period of inquiry and research began for Greece, and all learned Europe on the arrival of King Otho, in 1833. A sum of money having been assigned by government for antiquarian discoveries, regular excavations on the Acropolis at Athens commenced, and were continued for several years with great success, under the direction of the learned Dane, Dr. Lewis Ross, and afterwards of the zealous and active Athenian, Pittakis. The entire platform of the castle-rock was cleared of the Turkish and Venetian fortifications, and the accumulated rubbish of centuries. The beautiful temple of the wingless goddess of Victory, with its precious sculptures and columns, was discovered and rebuilt on its old foundations, in front of the gateway of Pericles—the superb Propylaia—which likewise were laid open and used as a museum of the numerous sculptures, inscriptions and fragments of architecture found everywhere.

The northern portico of the Erechtheion was restored, and one of the beautiful Caryatids supporting the entablature of the Cecropeion replaced. The parthenon itself was not only cleared of the rubbish and of a small mosque, which the Turks had built in the interior of the temple, but several of its gigantic columns were raised, and thus the two fronts, on the east and the west, which had been severed by the explosion of the year 1687, have been reunited by the restoration of the lateral colonades. Within and around the monuments were found many fragments of colossal statues, bas-reliefs from the frieze and metopes, bronzes, statuettes of alabaster and *terra cotta*, and architecural ornaments, with *polychrome* or painted decorations, nay, even beams of *burnt wood* from the earlier temple of Athene, the Hecatompedon, destroyed by Xerxes during his invasion in 480, B. C.—all in a high degree interesting and

instructive, which, together with the numerous inscriptions, soon began to fill the temporary museums erected on the Acropolis for their reception.

Still more extensive were the excavations in the ancient harbors of the Peirœus, the Zea and the Munychia, where the adjacent swamps had been drained and a new flourishing town of five thousand inhabitants built. There on the rocky peninsula of Munychia were discovered the ancient market-place, the temple and theatre of Artemis, the foundations of the arsenal of Pheilon, the Athenian emporium, the subterranean baths of the Serrangion, porticoes, streets, numberless wells and cisterns, the entire range of the walls with their towers and gates; and further north in the plain, the extensive *nekropolis*, or burial-ground, with thousands of tombs, marble sarcophagi and sepulchral stones. Even the bottom of the port, on the cleaning of the harbor, gave its tribute in statutes and bronze relics.

On the coast of Eleusis the fishermen caught a winged goddess in their net. At Marathon were found bronze helmets, swords, and Persian spear-heads, from the battle-field, and among the ruins of a country-seat of Herodes Atticus, a beautifully preserved statue in the Egyptian style, and quite a number of busts, among which, those of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Socrates and of Herodes Atticus himself. More precious than these sculptures, was a sepulchral bas-relief excavated from an ancient tumulus at Brauron, near Marathon, which represents the hero Aristeion in full armor, with the helmet on his head, and the lance in his hand; it is beautifully sculptured in the stiff archaic manner, ornamented with brass decorations, and painted in brilliant colors; the inscription tells us that it is the work of Aristocles.

Near the village of Kaprena, in the plain of Chœroneia in Boiosia, was disinterred a colossal lion of white marble, placed there, according to Pausanias, in commemoration of the sacred band of young Thebans, who had perished on that field in the battle against Philip and his Macedonian phalanx. Not far off, on the celebrated plain of Leuktra, at the base of Mount Helicon, was excavated a rotunda, formed of thirteen marble

slabs, with sculptured shields, supposed to be the ancient trophy, raised by the Thebans on the very spot where the proud Spartans were routed by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, B. C. 371, and forced to throw away their shields to facilitate their flight.

The museums at Athens were likewise enriched by antiquities from the islands of the Ægean. From Andros were brought two splendid statues, a Hermes (Mercury) and another, a headless figure, enveloped in the pallium, which both in beauty and perfect workmanship may be compared to the celebrated Apollo of Belvedere in the Vatican and the Aristeides at Naples.

From Naxos and Thera several Egyptian statues and Phœnician inscriptions were sent in, which corroborate the account given by Herodotus, that those islands were, in early times, occupied by Phœnician and Egyptian colonies.

The German historian, Charles O. Müller, excavated the foundations of the great temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphoi in 1840, where several interesting inscriptions were found, which latter have been published by Professor Ernst Curtius in his Delphica.

In Laconia a new Sparta arose on the banks of the Eurotas, near the ruins of the ancient Doric metropolis. Here statues, inscriptions, busts, and sepulchral monuments were discovered; the sarcophagi of the Agidæ, the treasury and sanctuary of Menelaos and Helene at Therapne, an ancient highly remarkable Doric bridge at Pharis, at the base of Mount Taygetos, other antiquities at Gytheion, the port of Sparta; at Hieraki, and in the neighboring Messenia, the harvest has been still richer by the extensive excavations of the French scientific expedition at Messene, and the important discoveries of the temple ruins of Artemis Limnatis, the site and ruins of Andania, Steniklaros, Ampheia, and the celebrated fortress of Eira, on the banks of the Nedon.

All these investigations have furnished copious materials for a more extensive and profound study of Hellenic history and archæology, and they have been most happily employed by the German and English historians of the present day, as will ap-

pear on nearly every page of the excellent works of Wordsworth, Thirlwall, George Grote, Welcker, Scholl, Ulrichs, Ross, Curtius, and others.

Yet their inquiries did not stop within the limits of classical antiquity; they soon discovered that Greece contained numerous monuments from the Byzantine era of the middle ages, a period of history hitherto almost entirely neglected, but still both interesting and important, by the relations into which the Hellenic race entered to the different Sclavonian tribes occupying the greater part of Greece from the 6th to the 9th century, by the conquests and feudal settlements of the French crusaders, the Catalan freebooters and the Othoman Turks, who successively ruled over the most fertile regions of that beautiful and unhappy country.

This direction having once been given by the French historian, J. A. Buchon, to the mediæval studies on Grecian history, he was soon followed by the eloquent German Prof. Fallmerayer, by Zinkeisen of Leipzig, by Ross and others.

Ruins and relics, hitherto almost entirely disregarded, and neglected by earlier classical travelers, such as castles, churches, monasteries, mediæval sepulchral monuments, sarcophagi, coins, armor, and inscriptions from that long and dreary period, were now minutely studied and described. Every notice regarding Hellas dispersed in the voluminous Byzantine historians, was collected and commented upon. Modern Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, and even Turkish manuscripts and documents, illustrating this period, were discovered, and to the indefatigable researches of the late lamented Buchon, in the dusty libraries of Italy and France, we now owe his highly interesting collection of papers on the history of Greece, during the times of the Crusades and the feudal dominion of the French barons, and embracing that hitherto obscure period of the political and commercial intercourse between the eastern and western world, which, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, exerted so beneficial an influence on the general progress of civilization in Europe.

These studies on Mediæval Greece, and the great controversy among the learned, with regard to the influence of the

Sclavonian conquests and settlements on the manners and language of the Modern Greeks, did not for a length of time, attract the attention of the English public. Even the three important works of Colonel Finlay, recently published in England, do not appear to have met with great success, no doubt on account of the hostile feeling of the British nation toward the Greeks, as ardent friends of Russia in the present war.*

This subject, though highly interesting, being still little known in America, I have thought to render the readers of the Mercersburg Review a service, by giving them an account of the late discoveries made in Pelopennesus, which throw a new light on Spartan History and on the conquests and settlements of the Sclavonian tribes and the Crusaders during the Middle Ages.†

The Hellenic nation did not, like the Persian, Macedonian and Roman, stand forth as a single, conquering and domineering people on the great theatre of the world's history. The Hellenes were divided into different tribes, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians and Achæans, distinct and independent by their government and general character—although they were all of the same blood and parentage—and all hailed Deukalion and Hellen as their common patriarchs. The Greeks regarded themselves as one united race, with regard to the entire *extra* Hellenic world, which they disdainfully called *Barbarian*.

The highly civilized Egyptian, the wealthy Phœnician, the well disciplined and proud Roman, were all *barbarians* in the eyes of the Greek, and yet the four Hellenic nationalities remained in almost continual hostility against one another, and, what is particularly remarkable, *each* successively obtained the pre-eminence, the political and military sway in Greece.

First, Athens, who, as the representative of the Ionian tribe, after her victories over the Persians, obtained the gener-

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* George Finlay's Greece, under the Romans Edinburgh. 1844. Mediæval Greece and Trebizond, 1851. History of the Byzantine Empire. 1853-54. 2 vol.

† The only works on Mediæval Greece, published in America, are Prof. C. C. Fellon's continuation of W. Smith's History of Greece. Boston, 1855, and my description of Greece in the World of the Middle Ages, New York, 1854, and in some articles of the New York Quarterly Review.

al command, which she soon, with cruelty and arrogance, turned against her own confederates, whom she treated like subjects,—then, toward the close of the Peloponnesian war, did Sparta, at the head of the Dorian alliance, attain that supremacy both on the continent of Greece and in Asia Minor, which she lost at the battle of Leuktra, in 371 B. C., when the great Theban Epaminondas, during a short but brilliant period, raised the Æolian (Bœotian) league to the highest rank among the Grecian states. Though vanquished and subdued by the victorious arms of Macedon, a new alliance a second time maintained the liberty of western Hellas, while the still more celebrated confederacy of the Achæan republics in the Peloponnesus, boldly attempted the re-union and regeneration of all Greece. They appeared for a time to succeed, and great were the generous exertions and the enthusiasm of the Greeks during the later days of their independence. But soon the rising star of Rome prevailed, and the conflagration of Corinth told the world that free Greece was no more—in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, (B. C. 146.) Every one of the four leading tribes of Greece, the Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Achæans had thus their own period of victory and glory. Yet the principal interest of Grecian history, and the development of Grecian genius in the sciences and the arts of peace and war, rest with Athens and Sparta—that is, with the Ionians and Dorians. Wherein, then, consist the different systems, which we call Ionismus and Dorismus?

Athens was a democracy, with liberal laws, a powerful navy, extensive commerce, and wealthy colonies. Yet her small and rocky territory of Attica, as a peninsula, thrust forward between Asia and western Europe, was exposed to the invasions of the mighty despots of the Persian empire. All her energies, therefore, were directed to the commercial and colonial relations with the outward world,—nay, the very existence of her immense population at home depended for their support on the tributes of the confederate cities of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the islands. The whole political system of Athens was built upon artificial combinations, whose deceitful and easily shaken foundations rested on her naval vic-

tories, and the prestige of her glory, but soon gave way in the hour of disenchantment and defeat. Athens permitted a free development in the education of her youth, and in the private life of her citizens. She delighted in foreign customs and manners, and received numerous foreign residents within her walls. Science and art, music and poetry, philosophy and eloquence, soon attained their perfection in the city of Athens. The lively and excitable Athenian hurried from the market-place to the tribunal, from thence to the assembly, and, in the crowded theatre, he wept with Sophocles, and laughed with Aristophanes. He was quick and impetuous in war, restless and quarrelsome in peace, a mild and benevolent master to his inferiors, but full of envy, caprice, and intrigue toward his equals. In Athens, one constitution, one revolution, followed another; and after a wonderful vicissitude of victory and defeat, of glory and humiliation, Athens, in the short period of two centuries,—from Solon to Demosthenes,—had already performed her brilliant part, and retired from the stage of the world.

Not so Sparta. Her constitution was an austere aristocracy, founded on conquest. Only the victors—the Spartans—enjoyed all the privileges of the citizen, while the native Laconians either retained only their personal liberty, while they bore all the burdens of the state, or were condemned to everlasting servitude as miserable Helots.

Sparta herself, a large, open village, in a deep, fertile valley, protected by a bulwark of impervious mountains from all invasion of her less warlike enemies, had no commerce, no colonies, nor any intercourse with her neighbors, except by the sword.

The laws of Lycurgus regulated the education of the young people, and the domestic life of the Spartan citizen, with a severity that approached to cruelty. Ignorant and superstitious, the Spartan became a hardy warrior, who despised the arts of peace and the enjoyments of the mind. His music was the battle-song; his ornaments, his crested helmet, purple tunic, and glittering shield.

Woman in Sparta enjoyed that veneration and high moral

influence which made the Spartans distinguished among all other Hellenes for their purity of manners and their domestic virtues, that for ages remained the strongest bulwark of their Empire. The beauty, robust health, and mental fortitude of the Spartan women became proverbial. "*With it* or *on it*," —ταν η επι ταν,—said the Spartan mother, giving the large brazen shield to her departing son. The military discipline of Sparta was perfect; she was wary and slow, but her conquests were systematic, and the brave but unhappy Messenians were reduced to slavery. Sparta feared no foreign foe, but trembled at the desperate revolts of her own Helots. Twice they brought her to the brink of destruction. But her constitution was sound and congenial to the sombre character of her people; and thus this small band of 9,000 staunch aristocrats, hating every change, and despising the free commonwealths around them, withstood, for more than five centuries, all the temptations to which they were exposed by their victory over Athens, and their conquests in Asia Minor, the invasions of their own territory by Epaminondas, and the restoration of Messenia. Sparta resisted both Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus,—the warlike madman of Epirus,—and it was not until this wonderful city had completed her eighth century that the gradual relaxation of the Lycurgean discipline and the universal degeneracy of Hellas, brought on the last fatal defeat of Sellasia, the extinction of her Heraceidian dynasties, and, fifty years later, her final occupation by a Roman proconsular army.

Before we explain who the Dorians were, and by what extraordinary events they conquered the peninsula of Pelops, we shall, from actual observation, describe the scene of their exploits.

From the Acropolis of Athens, the traveler enjoys one of the most classical and picturesque views in the world. Beyond the blue expanse of the Saronic gulf, with its high rocky islands of Ægina and Salamis, he discovers the mighty mountain-ranges of northern Greece, the low isthmus, and south of it, the towering Acrocorinth; nay, the transparency of the Attic atmosphere is such, that even the walls and towers on

its summit can be distinctly seen at the distance of fifty miles.

The last spur of these mountains, the Geranèia (mount of cranes,) sinks steeply down upon the isthmus and the sea. It stood like a rocky isle between the mainland and the island of Pelops at the time of the Deucalian flood, according to the ancient traditions, until at last the receding waters laid bare the plains of Megara and the low back-bone of the isthmus. The soil of these coast lands is of a later formation, and consists mostly of a conglomerate of shell-fish and conchites. The isthmus has a breadth of four miles, or 18,300 feet, and rises to a height of 246 feet, extending in broad slopes, covered with brushwood and pine trees, without any soaring point from which the traveler might get a full view of both the seas. At the narrowest part, where, in antiquity, was the *diolkos*, or slide for dragging the vessels across, may still be seen the excavation made by the emperor Nero, while attempting in vain to cut a canal from the Corinthian gulf to the Saronic. Farther south appear the lines of fortifications in regular Hellenic masonry, flanked with square towers, by which the Corinthians sought to protect the isthmus against the enemy from without. A ride of one hour and a half carries us to Corinth, in a commanding and beautiful situation, at the foot of the precipitous rock of Acro-Corinth, rising to a height of 2,000 feet above the level of the gulf.

The rock of Cecrops was the Acropolis of Athens—but the fortress of Corinth was considered the Acropolis or bulwark of all Hellas. Demetrius of Pharos called it one of the terrible horns of the Laconian bull, while Mount Ithome, in Messenia, was the other. Here, then, from the fortifications of the Venetians, still in good preservation, we behold the whole range of the gigantic mountains of northern Greece, Parnassо, Helicon, and the Geranèia, sinking upon the Isthmus

> ——— with the double tide,
> That purpling rolls on either side,
> As if their waters chafed to meet,
> Yet pause—and crouch beneath her feet.

Our bird's-eye view south discloses the immense chains of rugged mountains, with several soaring peaks, the loftiest in

the Morea, which, extending from the east westward, form the narrow coast land of ancient Achaea—between Corinth and Patrae, and send off in different directions southward, three separate chains, which, in their course, form the boundary of the independent states of ancient Peloponnesus.

The most eastern of these ridges, is the high barren Arachnaeon, running along the Argolic coast, and terminating at the promontory Skylaion, opposite the celebrated island of Hydra. Immediately south of Corinth descends the peaked Apesas, farther on, called Artemision, from the temple and worship of Artemis or Diana. It forms the narrow pass—the *Derveni*—where Kolokotronis and Nikitas, the Turk-eater, (*Turkophagos*) defeated, in 1822, the Turkish army of Dram-Ali, and laid the foundation of Grecian liberty. This mighty ridge partly covered with pine-forests and copse-wood, encloses on the west the beautiful plain of Argos, and joining southward the Parnon, on the frontiers of Laconia, terminates in the steep promontory of Malea or Cape St. Angelo. It divides Argos from the high table-land or *plateau* of Arcadia, and it is an astonishing sight to the traveler, who, after having toiled during the entire day along the flanks of its parallel ridges, and at last, at sun-set reaches its summit—now beholds immediately before him the extensive plain of Tripolizza, at an elevation of more than 2,000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

The third, or western chain, is Mount Erymanthos (Lampe,) which forms the delightful highlands of Arcadia, the favorite retreat of the merry god of the shepherds, Pan and his trickish Satyrs. These woody hills are intersected by deep valleys and rich pastures. Some, such as the valley of Pheneos and Stymphalos, being enclosed by high mountains, form lakes, which by subterranean canals, called Katavothra, discharge themselves into more distant rivers or the sea. The numerous rills from the Arcadian hills descend westward, and join the Alpheus, which, flowing through the plain of Olympia, where the Greeks celebrated their Olympian festivals and games, discharges itself into the Ionian sea, opposite the island of Zante.

This woody region of Arcadia, by the ancients called Mount Maenalon, has the most striking resemblance to Switzerland. On the south-west it rises to the high, bold, and broad Mount Lykaeos, from the summit of which the greatest part of Morea is seen spread out like a map, bordered by the dark blue sea. It joins the Taygetos, or Mount of Five Fingers (Pentedaktylos,) from its culminating tops, forming the rough and stony peninsula of Mani, the abode of the free Laconians or Maniotes, formerly so much dreaded as robbers and pirates. Its termination is the precipitous Cape Taenaron or *Matapan* (front,) the southernmost point of Europe.

This long succession of picturesque mountains divides the western part of Morea, leaving Arcadia and Laconia on the east, and the undulating coast lands of Elis and rich plain of Messenia on the west.

Thus we find the entire peninsula of Pelops, by nature herself, divided into seven regions. On the north, Achaia and Corinthia—on the east, Argolis, on the south, Laconia and Messenia; on the west, Elis—and in the centre, between the barriers of Mount Artemision, and on both slopes of the Maenalon, Arcadia, the primitive seat of the ancient Pelasgi.

The oldest traditions of the Peloponnesian Greeks are attached to Mount Lykaeos, the Arcadian Olympus. "Here," says Pausanias, "had the black soil produced the godlike Pelasgus, the ancestor of mankind; here lay Lycosura, the first city which the sun beheld, and from it that laborious race learnt to build their towns." They extended throughout the mountains toward the coasts, in different tribes. On the east we know them as Cynurians; on the south-west of Arcadia, as Caucones; and on the plains of Argos as Danaens. These primitive Pelasgian tribes cleared the forests, led off the stagnant waters, cultivated the fertile valleys, and though afterward subdued by the warlike Hellenic tribes from the north, they continued for centuries in their old homesteads, clad in skins and occupied with cattle breeding and agriculture, without adopting the higher civilization of the invaders. Among these, were the highly-gifted, active, and inventive Ionians, on the northern shores of the Peloponnesus, and the roving Lele-

ges in the south, on the islands of the Ægean, and the coast of Asia Minor. In the interior we find the noble tribe of the Achaians, originally from Thessaly, who, under the sway of the Phrygian settler or conqueror Pelops, and his descendants, were the builders of numerous cities and ruled the entire island of Pelops, by the kings of Argos and Lacedaimon, the great Pelopidæ—Agamemnon and Menelaos.

The poetry of Homer and the epic bards, of Æschylos and the tragedians, is beautiful and grand; but is it only the product of the lively fancy of the poets—is it nothing more—is it not history—not reality? When I was standing on the heights of Mount Euboia in Argolis, or those immense Pelasgian walls of ancient Mycenæ, with the noble Lion-gate in front, and at a distance, beneath the ancient Acropolis of the Atridæ, beheld the wonderful vault of the treasury of Atreus and the sepulchre of Agamemnon, how was it possible that the thought, the intense conviction, should not start to my mind, that there was more than poetry and fiction in those venerable traditions, which antiquity itself, with awe and reverence, considered as history and reality. History in Greece is older than the British and German historians will allow. The more we study the traditions of the Mythic centuries, the more discoveries we make on the continent of Greece, the islands, and in Asia Minor, the clearer and more distinctly we discern through the dim visions of the earlier ages, long before the historical period of a Herodotus and a Thucydides, the civilization of a simple, but moral, religious, and highly gifted nation, which must have had a traditional *history* in the songs of its poets, centuries before it could embody its embellished tales in the more regular garb and temperate language of the historian. And then we have another curious fact. While on the one hand, modern historians, a Niebuhr, a Müller, a Grote, all erudite and profound savans of original investigations, attempt to pull down the whole structure of ancient traditions, and with one blow, as it were, to annihilate the legendary history of Italy and Greece, strewing ruins around them, without erecting a more solid structure of their own—the most extraordinary, the most astonishing discoveries are continually go-

ing on in Asia Minor, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Palestine, Assyria, on the banks of the Tigris, and in Persia, which all most distinctly prove that civilization and history can be carried back for thousands of years in Asia, Africa, on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Is it then possible to suppose that while all was light, civilization and history in the East, all should have been darkness, barbarity and fable in Hellas, which is lying at so short a distance from those countries, and was in constant communication with Phœnicians and Egyptians by commerce, colonization and conquest? Nay, we possess numerous monuments from the remote heroic ages, all tending to prove the high state of civilization and progressing development in Greece, as far back as the sixteenth, and even eighteenth century before our era. Neither the Pelagians, nor their still more active sons, the Hellenes, were ever barbarians or savages. All our studies lead us to the conclusion of the primitive cultivation of the Caucasian race, and suggest the high importance of an accurate interpretation of the legendary history of the Greco-Pelasgian tribes.

The immense Pelasgian fortresses at Tyrinthos, Argos, Mycenæ, and in many parts of Arcadia, Thessaly and Epirus, the ancient seats of that nation; the subterranean canals of the lake Kopais in Bœotia, and those of the lakes of Stymphalos and Pheneos in Arcadia, attributed to the supernatural powers of Heracles; the artificial tumuli of the Æakid Heroes, and the wonderfully terraced hills in the island of Ægina, the tumuli of Achilles, Potroclos and Hector on the Sigean promontory of the Hellespont, so well corresponding to the description of Homer in his Iliad; the mines and shafts of the ancient Phœnicians in the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos, considered as remarkable antiquities even in the days of Herodotus; the numerous Phœnician monuments and inscriptions from the Ægean, such as from Rhodes, Thera and Crete; the ancient Egyptian statues discovered at Naxos and Thera, and an immense marble colossus in the rigid Egyptian style, forty-five feet in length, cut out from a marble mountain on the eastern coast of Naxos, and still lying on the spot; Phœnician inscriptions of Cadmos in the Ismenian temple at Thebes, mentioned

as historical evidence of the early Phœnician colonies in Greece by Herodotus; the ruins on Mount Pylos, with the grotto of Nestor; the Menelaion monument, and the treasury at Therapne, near Sparta, the lately discovered temples and cities in Messenia; these and many other very ancient monuments all prove, that we find something more than poetry, fable and romance prior to the era of Solon and Peisistratos. We have the monuments, let them speak for themselves; and standing on the tumulus of Achilles, with the Scamander running at our feet, and the hill of Ilium and the distant Mount Ida before our enraptured eyes, we feel and say, that the lay of the blind old man from Chios' rocky isle is no romance, but history, though the father of the epos, Homer, like the father of history, Herodotus, by the power of his imagination, and the ardor of his feelings, may have magnified and embellished the historical incidents of a period full of enterprise and development, when Asia and Europe met in arms beneath the walls of Troy, and flourishing colonies and free republics rose rapidly and powerfully on the decline and downfall of the aristocratic sway of the heroic dynasties. It was this general democratic movement throughout the Grecian mother country, the great results of the Trojan expedition, from which at a later period those glorious constitutions and republics arose, which form so luminous a feature in the history of Greece, when compared with all the other nations of antiquity.

Thus, through the romantic traditions and poetical embellishments, we plainly distinguish the rapid development of the most warlike and most powerful, of all Grecian tribes, the followers of Dorus, son of Deucalion, the Dorians, in their early seats in Thessaly and the valleys at the base of Mount Parnassos—the ancient Doris.

In Peloponnesus, Pelops and his descendants, the Pelopidæ, had usurped the royal seat of Heracles, while his exiled and persecuted sons, after many vain attempts to recover their hereditary throne, at last found refuge among the Dorians, then earning a scanty and inglorious subsistence among the barren rocks and sombre forests of Mount Pindus, in the north.

The principal deity of the Athenians was Athene. The Dorians worshipped Appollo, in his ancient and highly-revered temple on Mount Olympus, in Thessaly. The Dorian god in obscure oracles gave promise of victory and conquest, and thus encouraged, the Heracleid heroes, at the head of the Dorian warriors, invaded the peninsula.

Yet their repeated attacks were repelled on the Corinthian Isthmus by the united forces of the Achaians—and it was not until eighty years after the Trojan war, that the descendants of Heracles, Aristodemos, Cresphontes and Temenos, succeeded in again uniting a mighty army of Dorians, and daring adventurers from Ætolia and Thessaly, with whom they crossed the Corinthian gulf on rafts and ferries, and ascending the mountains of Arcadia, defeated the natives and made a descent on Sparta.

From this central point they soon extended their conquests over the greater part of Peloponnesus. All Messenia, Laconia, Elis and Argolis, were occupied by the Dorians and their auxiliaries. The Achaians, vanquished everywhere, fell back upon the Ionians on the northern coast, dislodged them from their twelve cities, and forced them to retire to Attica, whence they afterwards emigrated to Asia Minor.

Thus then, with the exception of this coast-land, Achaia, and the strongholds of the Arcadian highlands, the Dorians now possessed the entire Peninsula, which was divided among the victors.

Aristodemos had perished ; his twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, were defrauded by their uncles Cresphontes and Temenos, who possessed themselves of the most valuable lands : the former of the rich plain of Messenia; the latter, of Argos, the eastern coast-lands down to Cape Malea, and the adjacent islands of Cythera and Ægina, so advantageously situated for commerce with the Cyclades, Egypt, and the Phœnician harbors on the Syrian coast.

The twin brothers, the sons of Aristodemos, on the contrary, received for their part only the earliest conquest, Sparta in the valley of Eurotas, which, by the nearly impervious ridge of Taygetos, is separated from Messenia. This unequal division

of the supposed Heraclean inheritance remained in after-times, during the slow but steady development of Sparta, the main cause of the continual feuds between the Spartans and their more favored neighbors, the Argeians and Messenians, which ultimately terminated with the defeat of the latter and their subjection to proud and victorious Sparta.

Such is the outline of the great Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, the last migration of the Hellenic tribe in Greece Proper, which, although in its details, embellished by poets and orators, is yet considered as resting on a genuine historical foundation by the most skeptical of modern historians. It took place about the year 1104 before our era, and no doubt continued for many years. In Messenia, the conquest appears to have been more easy. The Dorian invaders met with no resistance on the open plain of Pamisos, and beneath the mild sway of Cresphontes and his successors, they soon melted down with the native population, who enjoyed equal rights and liberties with their Dorian conquerors.

Not so in Sparta. In the rugged mountains of Laconia the resistance was more desperate, and the conquest for a length of time circumscribed to the environs of the capital in the valley of the Eurotas. The Dorian Spartans, during the reign of a succession of kings, sword in hand, subdued the different townships of the pre-existing Achaian inhabitants, which they peopled with part of their own auxiliaries, and constituted as tributary subjects. They thus gradually advanced upon the sea-shore, where Helos and other maratime cities, assisted by the Argeians, made a protracted resistance, but at last were taken and destroyed by the Spartans, who made the inhabitants—the Helots—their serfs, depriving them of their personal liberty, and distributing them as *adscripti glebæ*, or slaves, bound to the soil, on their own estates and villages, all over the country. This is the historical origin of the miserable condition of the Helots, which afterwards extended to the Dorian Messenians, and formed so remarkable a feature in Spartan history. Thus, even in the remotest times, before Lycurgus, we recognize three important divisions in the population of Laconia: the Spartans, the reigning Dorian tribe, like

the Othomans of modern Turkey; secondly, the Laconian subjects, around the city of Sparta, called Perioikoi or Lakones, like the present Rayahs in Turkey; and thirdly, the Helots, or serfs, considered the property of the state, and divided as the unfree peasants in Russia, in villages on the estates of the Spartans.

The kings of Sparta, descending from the two twin brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, formed two dynasties, (generally called Agidæ and Eurypontidæ,) who continued to govern the kingdom for nearly eight centuries, and became extinct almost at the same time—about 220 B. C. Sparta was thus the only state in Greece whose first magistrates were hereditary kings, though their power was very circumscribed. For two centuries they were occupied in border feuds and petty conquests; Sparta was yet unknown to the world, and even her existence threatened by intestine dissensions and revolts, when a great man arose, who, by one of the most extraordinary constitutions of the world, laid the solid foundation of her future power and glory.

This was Lycurgus, who flourished in the period between 880 and 850 B. C. About his own personal history, the accounts vary so much, that it is enveloped in darkness; but his laws and discipline, enlarged and strengthened in later times, have made his name immortal.

The leading principles of the lawgiver were: a united and strong government, a healthy and highly disciplined nation of free Spartans, who, while they enjoyed equal rights among themselves, were maintained and fed by the tributes of their Laconian subjects and the labor of their numerous Helots. Thus we may consider this tribe of the Dorian race—the Spartans of Sparta, both rich and poor, both great and small—as so many aristocrats, and every Spartan warrior, glittering in his bright armor and followed by his light-armed Helots, appears to us as a knight of the middle ages, attended by his feudal retainers and clansmen, fighting under his own banner.

Sparta, then, formed a close aristocracy, where only the favored tribe of the Dorians had political power, and all the burdens of the state fell to the lot of the native Peloponnesians.

What a contrast with the liberal democracy of Athens, where all were equals, and even foreign residents had their rights and honors!

Sparta was a military republic, in which the entire government was divided between the two kings, the senate of twenty-eight elders and the public assembly of the Spartan citizens. The kings *proposed*, the Senate *deliberated*, the Spartan Assembly *accepted* or *rejected*. The kings were hereditary generals, who commanded the army, presided in the senate and represented the state as the high-priests of Jupiter Lacedaemonius, offering monthly sacrifices to the gods. Their direct political powers were insignificant; yet they possessed royal domains in the valley of Eurotas, and one of their principal revenues was the *hide-money* (δερματικον), arising from the numerous victims offered at the public sacrifices.

It may be supposed that the co-existent and co-ordinate kings of Sparta would become rivals; that, full of jealousy, they would be continually thwarting and counteracting each other. Of this, we have numerous instances: but although these intrigues often had a baneful effect upon the course of public measures, yet they nevertheless gave the nation a security against successful violence, and the establishment of a despotism by some ambitious individual among the regal lines. Nay, in order to paralize the encroachment of the regal power, the Spartans afterwards, during the absence of the kings, employed in the Messenian wars, instituted a board of popular delegates, similar to the Roman tribunes, whom they placed in contra-position to the kings and the senate. Here we have the celebrated Spartan *Ephors*, who were annually chosen in the assembly; they soon profited by the great obedience shown them by the people and by the dissensions of the kings; they began to constitute themselves as an independent power, and boldly usurping the royal authority, they at last reduced the kings to a state of intolerable humiliation and impotence.

The Spartan being continually occupied with war or military exercises, cared little for the public assembly, where no open discussion was permitted, and he, therefore, found no opportunity to develop the talents of the Athenian in canvassing

the political affairs of the state. The great assembly became abandoned, and we soon find that only a small number of intriguing citizens were adjoined to the senate, who, together with the directory of the Ephors, now conducted the affairs of the aristocracy with that suspicious secrecy and cold-blooded cruelty, which remind us of the mysterious government of Venice in more modern times. It was wrapped in an impenetrable mystery, and the Ephors reigned as absolute despots over the will, the hands, tongues and lives of their Spartan subjects. Their tyranny became intolerable; conspiracies were planned, not only by the miserable Helots, but even by the citizens themselves, who wished to throw off the iron yoke; but they were quickly discovered by the suspicious Ephorate and cruelly punished; they maintained their omnipotent dominion for five centuries, and were only destroyed by Cleomenes III., the last king of the Heracleidan dynasties.

The ancient historians, Xenophon and Plutarch, have given us some interesting details of that severe discipline to which Lycurgus subjected the Spartans, from their earliest youth, through their whole life. Spartan diet became a proverb, and their proud, haughty bearing and superior skill in war, made them the most feared and hated people in Greece. Lycurgus wanted to make them an iron nation, bound in by iron mountains, where all was restraint, control, abstinence, self-denial; nay, his whole system was founded upon the simple principle of implicit, soldier-like obedience to the law, so beautifully expressed in the epitaph engraved on the tomb of the Spartan heroes at Thermopylæ:

"O stranger, go and tell Sparta, that we lie here in obedience to her laws!"

Not for personal glory fought and bled Leonidas; not for revenge against the Barbarian, but because Sparta ordered him to the battle-field!

Yet the real corner-stone of the consistent and admirable structure of the Lycurgean constitution, which united the warlike citizens of Sparta into a close military brotherhood, was the equal partition of lands into indivisible and inalienable lots among all the Spartan and Laconian families. The rich-

est and most fertile lands in the valley of Eurotas, around the city, were divided into 9000 lots and occupied by the Spartans, who, themselves not being husbandmen, like the Athenians and Romans, left the care of their cultivation to Helot families, settled in villages on the estates. The mountain regions of Taygetos and Thornax, and the coast lands, with a hundred towns and villages, and thirty thousand lots of arable lands, were appropriated to the Laconian out-dwellers (περοικοι), who enjoyed them as their property with the unrestricted liberty of commerce, trade, manufactural and mining interests, and in this respect, certainly, were far better off than their indolent masters, crowding the market-place and public eating-houses in Sparta. In their quiet and industrious activity, the Laconian agriculturist became wealthy, while the Spartan, pining for excitement and war, remained poor and inactive.

On the other hand, the Laconians were excluded from all participation in the direction of public afiairs ; they paid their annual tribute, and were summoned to join the Spartan army. Thus we find, some centuries after Lycurgus, the interesting fact of a Spartan army at the battle near Platæa, against the Persians, consisting of five thousand Spartans and ten thousand Laconians, all of them heavy-armed infantry, or *Hoplitæ*, accompanied by thirty-five thousand light armed Helots, of whom seven, like feudal vassals, followed each Spartan to the field.

We have dwelt for a moment on this important division of lands, so characteristic of the ancient Spartan commonwealth —because the skeptical historians of modern times, and last of all, the distinguished British historian, George Grote, have attacked it—and considered the whole a fiction, an illusion of Plutarch created by the old legends, without any historical evidence ; nay, some of the Germans, in their desire to turn classical history upside down, even deny the existence of Lycurgus altogether! They attempt to lay their axe at the root of Grecian history, as the great Niebuhr did at the Roman.

Grote himself finds the origin of all the supposed dreams, fictions and fancies of Plutarch in the much later attempt

of the last Heracleid kings of Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes, to reform and regenerate Sparta, during the last period of her decline, about 250 B. C.

But the ancients—from Herodotus to Plutarch—do not only consider the royal Lycurgus, as the founder of the Spartan constitution, but they portray with great perspicuity the leading character of the Spartan legislation during the different periods of its history, which is nearly the same in the different authors, and the ancients have no doubt known the land and the people of Sparta better than our modern skeptics.

The system of Lycurgus was not a fiction—it was an institution, based on the ideas, manners, and customs of those remote times. The repartitions of lands in equal lots, between rich and poor—the idea of equality and brotherhood among Spartans—which appears such an impossibility, and excites such a disbelief in a modern historian, was a continually recurring event, during times of conquest and colonization—and is the everlasting theme of law-givers and philosophers, in the primitive ages of Greece and Rome. Nor could the last kings of Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes, have taken up the idea of restoring the Lycurgean constitution by new partitions of landed property in their times—if such a constitution had not existed and the lands had never before been divided among the citizens.

These facts are clear, and speak in favor of the bold, but necessary institutions of Lycurgus.

The other objections of Grote, as to the impossibility of preserving the lots of lands by the families, without subdivisions among the younger sons, fall to the ground when we consider that it was exactly this institution of Sparta which excited the warlike spirit among her sons, and made them desire nothing more than with their swords to extend their sway, and thus carve out new partitions of more fertile lands for their children than those situated in the narrow valley of the Eurotas, and on the bleak and barren rocks of Mount Taygetos. This is the secret both of the rise and downfall of Sparta.

The first consequence of the introduction of this solid military system, about 850—25 B. C., was the rapid conquest of

all Laconia. The Arcadians were driven from the border, into the plain of Tegea. The Argeians fled from the eastern coast, and the Spartans even descended from the Parnon, the eastern frontier of Laconia, and occupied the beautiful valley of the Tanos, that fertile and celebrated Cynuria, which, to this day, is one of the best cultivated regions in Greece; where orange, lemon-groves, and olive-plantations, intermingled with vineyards and wheat-fields, on a dark-red luxuriant soil, protected by wood-clad mountains, but open to the gulf of Argos, charm the eye of the traveler, and make him conceive the obstinate wars of the Argeians and Spartans for such a prize.

Toward the first Olympiad, 776 B. C., all Laconia was reduced to obedience; additional lands were acquired, new Helots and Laconians brought under the Spartan dominion, yet these conquests had only excited the thirst for more, and thus began those unjust and desperate wars with the beautiful, brave, but unhappy Messenia—one of the most tragical and romantic events in history, which soon changed the face of the entire Peloponnesus, and brought Sparta, through blood and danger, to the height of her power. After a precarious struggle of more than two centuries, we find the Spartans, at the beginning of the great Persian war, in 500 B. C., possessed of two-fifths of Peloponnesus, and extending her influence over the whole. And which was now this Sparta—this open, unwalled village—this immense camp of an invading army, quartered in the midst of a hostile and half-subdued people of Laconians and Helots?

We shall attempt to describe the impression which the splendid scenery of this country, and the remaining relics of its monuments and its people, make upon the American traveler, who, for the first time, visits its secluded valleys.

The contrast between the dreary desert of Anti-Lebanon and the delightful plain of Damascus, the Paradise of the East, and favorite theme of every Oriental traveler, is not greater or more striking than the contrast between the barren and stony hills, skirting the high table-lands of Arcadia, and the exuberant richness of the shady and fragrant valleys of Sparta. We can enter Laconia by three different routes, which all

differ in their character, and in the romantic effect of their scenery.

The most fatiguing, but the nearest and most picturesque road, is the eastern mountain-path along the Argolic gulf: it can be accomplished by a hard ride of two days from Argos to Sparta. Leaving Argos in the morning before day-light, and coasting the large bay, we arrived at an early hour at Lerna, the well known swamp were Heracles vanquished the Hydra. Without stopping, we ascended Mount Zavitza, on the ancient bridle-road, the Anigraia, which, through forests of wild olive and oak, runs along the precipitous flank of the mountain, high above the sea, thus affording splendid views across the gulf to Nauplia and the islands of Hydra and Spetza, distinctly seen by the wonderful transparency of the Grecian atmosphere. Towards noon we descended into the fertile valley of Cynuria, which we have mentioned as the land of contention between Sparta and Argos. There on the banks of the Tanos were raised the tumuli, or mounds (polyandria), which Pausanias saw and describes as the sepulchres of those 300 Spartan and 300 Argeian warriors, who, by deadly combat, were to decide the dispute. So undaunted and so equal was the valor of those chosen youths, that the battle terminated by leaving only three of them alive. Two of these were Argeians, who hastened home to report their victory, while the third, the Spartan, Othryades, remained alone on the bloody field, and raised a trophy of the weapons of the fallen enemies. Thus the returning Argeians, next day, to their astonishment and dismay, found the battle-field occupied by the victorious Spartan. Both rival states now claimed the victory for their champions, and the dispute at last was decided by a general battle, in which the Spartans were the conquerors, and finally drove the Argeians out of that important military position, which to this day is one of the most productive and populous part of Morea.

We now ascend the rugged flank of Mount Parnon, called *Malevo*, by the modern Greeks; we pass through the large and wealthy town Agios Petros, and on the highest ridge discover three huge heaps of stones or tumuli, ancient border-marks of

Laconia, commemorating the victory of Heracles over Hippokoon and his sons. Even to this day these mounds are called *Place of the Killed* (τους φονευμενους) by the Spartans. Here the grand and magnificent panorama toward the distant valley of Laconia and the snow-covered Taygetos at once bursts upon our sight. In a deep dell, immediately beneath the highest peak of Mount Parnon, we visit the few ruins of the temple of Zeus Scotitas, and some miles farther down the slope toward Sparta the hill and ruins of Caryai, from which the Caryatids or maidens, represented as columns supporting the architrave of the Erechtheion at Athens, received their names. We continue to descend through the wildest wood-scenery to the banks of the river Oenus and there meet the second, more easy road from Tegea and the Arcadian table lands, at the ruinous khan of Krevata, on the very spot where the last king of Sparta Cleomenes III, lost his kingdom and Sparta her independence, in battle against Antigonos Doson of Macedonia, 221 B. C. From these heights—Olympos and Evan—crowned by the ruins of the fortified city of Sellasia, the Waterloo of the Spartans, Cleomenes witnessed the brilliant and victorious advance of his army, and the rout of the Macedonian king, when on all a sudden the rapid charge of the young Philopoemen, at the head of the Achaean horse, in the flank of the Spartans, like that of old Blücher, and the Prussians at Waterloo, quickly turned the fortune of the day. Here fell the flower of the last Spartan phalanx. Cleomenes, like Napoleon, fled to the coast, thence to Egypt, where he perished. Sparta surrendered to the Macedonians, like Paris to the Holy Alliance; but her destiny was fulfilled, she never rose again.

The interesting details of the battle of Sellasia, which we find in Polybius and Plutarch, enable us on the spot to follow every movement of the contending hosts on the undulating or steep hills and deep ravines overhanging the river, which is now called Celephina, and descends like a torrent from Mount Parnon, through a fertile valley covered with vineyards and fields of Indian corn, and discharges into the Eurotas, now called Iris. During winter it inundates its banks, and its fords

are so dangerous that the Spartans have at present a curious proverb,—"*Kelephina* is a murderer, and the *Iris* a smart dandy."—*Η Κελεφινα φονισσα και ὁ Νερες ὁ λεβεντης.*

The old road followed the sinuosities of the river Oenus; but our mule-track at present ascends the pass of Mount Thornax, where, from the height of Vourla, we for the first time discover the Eurotas, and the broad valley of Laconia, bounded by the precipitous wall of Taygetos. Old Sparta herself is not seen; she is lying two miles south, and her ruins are hidden from our view by a projecting spur or bluff of Taygetos, stretching eastward to the Eurotas. But we plainly distinguish the high castle of Misthra, and straggling town above the mulberry groves, perched on a hill at the base of the deep chasms and overhanging precipices of Taygetos. The effect of this scenery is of surpassing grandeur. The descent from Vourla was rapid and very fatiguing for our weary horses. At length we crossed the river on a narrow Turkish bridge, consisting of one immense arch swinging high in the air, not very safe in appearance, but picturesque, and in harmony with the romantic scenery around. On the banks of the Eurotas we struck the third road leading down to Laconia from the western plain of Megalopolis through the narrow pass of Leondaria, all along the banks of the river, and touching the ruins of Pellana and Belmina.

These three roads from Argos, Tegea and Megalopolis consist of a succession of narrow defiles, where a few resolute men might safely repel the invasion of a numerous host. Sparta was proud of her natural barriers, and for centuries none of her many enemies dared to approach Laconia. Epaminondas, great both as a statesman and warrior, was the first to humiliate the Spartans in their own homes. The Theban proclaimed liberty to the Helots, restoration to Messenia, and he passed the defiles without striking a blow, being led on by thousands of serfs who had broken their chains, and now carried fire and destruction into the rich estates of their masters, with the spoils of whom they triumphantly reared the frowning walls of Messenia.

The Eurotas is by the moderns called Vasilopotamos, or

Royal River, at Sparta and below; but Iris at its source. Yet this proud name of *King of Rivers* it can hardly deserve even in Geeece, except on account of its *beauty!* It is broad and rapid only in spring, when the snows are melting on the high mountains around. During summer it is a scanty rivulet, which can be forded in many places without difficulty.

On the arrival of Queen Amalia, Her Majesty, to her astonishment, found all the Spartan women in their finest dresses, assembled on the banks of the Eurotas, singing their beautiful national song: "Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers"—they respectfully approached their charming young Queen, and lifting her gracefully from her horse, carried her in their arms across the river, at once showing the simplicity of their manners and the affectionate feelings of their hearts. The head spring of the *Iris* bursts forth from a deep chasm on Mount Bomion, the high, woody ridge dividing the plateau of Arcadia from the deep valley of Laconia, thirty-five miles north of Sparta. The ancients, so fond of the poetical and supernatural, believed that the Eurotas mingled its waters with the Alpheus, and after flowing together in a common channel for twenty stadia, the two river-gods, disappearing in a subterranean chasm or Katavothron, emerged again, but in a separate bed—Eurotas hurrying southward to fertilize the orange groves of Laconia—Alpheus, the fond and faithful lover, turning northward to cross Arcadia and the Ionian Sea, in order to embrace his beloved Arethusa in the grotto at Syracuse in Sicily.

Much has been said and sung of the snow-white swans sailing on the Eurotas. We have crossed it several times at different places, but we were not so fortunate as the celebrated Frenchman, Chateaubriand, who pretends to have seen the bird of Apollo on its cherished stream. Huge plane-trees, poplars, arbutus and agnus-castus cover its banks; the beautiful oleander, here acquiring a growth of forty or fifty feet, adorns its banks by the luxuriant wreath of its purple roses.

The sun had already set behind the Taygetos, and the shades of evening were closing around us; we felt excessively fatigued, having been in the saddle for twelve hours. Sparta was near,

but it was only a heap of ruins; New Sparta had not been built, and therefore despairing of finding quarters in the city of Lycurgus, we were obliged to spur on through the plain to the modern town of Misthras, lying four miles farther off, at the base of Taygetos. Turning, therefore, southwest, we soon lost ourselves among the spurs of that mountain, and got so entangled in the forests and wild shrubbery of the water courses, that we engaged a Laconian shepherd boy to lead us through the maze of the plantations to Misthras. The difficulties of this passage through the valley, north of Sparta, is an interesting fact, as it proves the impossibility of Sparta being turned or surrounded on the north by a hostile army. This is the reason why all invasions into Laconia took place from Sellasia and the Oenus, along the eastern bank of Eurotas, in front of the city, where she was strongly fortified by nature.

After groping about for several hours in the darkness of night, we cleared the woods and debouched upon the upper plain, a mile from our *konaki*, (night-quarters,) when a most extraordinary sight burst upon us. The town, with its scattered masses of white houses, intersected by lemon groves and cypresses, was seen brilliantly illuminated by piles of fires and thousands of lamps, blazing up from an encampment of tents, which extended throughout the plain in front of the town.

Songs and music re-echoed along the clefts of the mountain, and numerous groups of inhabitants, dancing and carousing, were indistinctly seen before the tents through the vapor and smoke of the blazing bonfires.

Altogether unprepared for this lively and beautiful spectacle in old Laconia, we questioned our attendants, and learned that it was the festival of 15th August, the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, when the rigid lent is at an end, and *all* Laconia unites to celebrate the great Panygeris or fair of the Panaghia. On this and the following days, men and women from the valleys and mountains, near Sparta, gather in the plain, where all the produce of their industry and natural productions are exhibited and sold at the much frequented market. A camp, forming lanes and streets of tents and huts covered with oleander

and laurel foliage, is erected along the skirts of the mulberry grove; while thousands of mules of an excellent breed, the principal produce of modern Laconia, are piquetted beneath the trees and sold at high prices, to be taken all over Greece, and even to Constantinople and Asia Minor.

In antiquity the Greek ladies were fond of the nurses and the slippers of Sparta. Alcibiades was proud of having had a Laconian nurse. At the present day leather work, morocco slippers, capotes of goat's hair, laid out with scarlet cloth and embroidery, dressing apparel, horse-trappings, saddles, iron-ware and weapons of all kinds are the articles most sought for at the fair. Large quantities of raw silk are sent to the port of Marathonisi, and from thence to Marseilles and Leghorn. We were surrounded by athletic, fine-looking natives, many of whom were armed with pistols and yatagans of slaughtered Turks. I mention this because *hoplophory*, or wearing of arms, is at present a privilege only belonging to officers in state service, whom the whole unarmed population look up to with jealousy and envy. The Palikars politely asked us to dismount and partake of their supper, an offer which they certainly did not need to repeat twice, as we were all half-starving. Fat lambs were roasting entire on the spit; the table-cloth was laid out on the grass near the fires, while the young Spartans were serving the strongly-resined wine in gourds to the warriors sitting round the supper. With the delicious roast lamb the Greeks generally serve olives, onions, boiled beans, sheep-cheese and a variety of fruits, among which the grapes and fresh figs bear away the highest prize. At table we met a Greek clergyman, Papa Oikonomides from Misthras, who generally receives strangers, and thus accompanied by our host, we left our servants and gens d'arms to the enjoyment of the processions and religious ceremonies, which continue during all night till dawn of day. We expressed our astonishment to Papa Oikonomides at having met so few people in the mountains travelling to the fair, but he answered that the fair at Tripolis, in Arcadia, on the same day, was more frequented; the roads there being more open and secure; Sparta had but little communication with the rest of Morea, except by sea;

yet even the road through the valley of Eurotas was full of danger to the merchant. The Maniotes were still armed, and often levied black-mail on the plain. Even the day before our arrival a skirmish took place quite near Misthras, in which a party of merchants beat off an attack of the mountaineers with some loss on both sides. The house of the Papa was comfortable and pleasantly situated in the upper town among the gardens. Being welcomed by his wife and fine, ruddy children in his neatly furnished parlor, all speaking a correct and even elegant language, we could not but reflect on the extraordinary change which has taken place in Greece since the days of Chateaubriand, in 1806. He, the pilgrim to Jerusalem, describes the savage Turkish manners of the proud and cruel Osmanlies, at Misthras, then a large city, and like Tripolizza, mostly inhabited by Turks, who insulted, bastinadoed and impaled the poor Greeks with impunity. Yet fifteen years later the sword of retribution fell heavily on the infidels. They were burnt, together with their city—a new village of wooden houses and bazaars had hardly been raised, before an ordinance of King Otho, promising a high-road through the hills to the coasts and the interior, ordered the Spartans to remove to the banks of the Eurotas, near Old Sparta.

These circumstances increased the movement in town during our stay. Many inhabitants were removing to the river, where churches, schools, tribunals, government buildings, silk manufactories, bazaars, and many private dwelling-houses were building,—all giving evidence of the rapid progress of this interesting and beautiful, but hitherto neglected and distracted country.

We shall at present take leave of Misthras, and in our next number invite the attention of the reader to the old Dorian city on the Eurotas, to its history, its inhabitants and monuments, many of which have lately been discovered, and are not well known in our Western Hemisphere.

ART. III.—WHATELY'S FUTURE STATE.

A VIEW OF THE SCRIPTURE REVELATIONS CONCERNING A FUTURE STATE: By *Richard Whately, D. D.*, late Archbishop of Dublin. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 1855. pp. 300.

THIS work will be found chiefly valuable, not as a contribution to scientific eschatology, but as an earnest effort to clear up the impressions prevailing among the masses in the Church, concerning death, the intermediate state, the resurrection, the judgment, and the final states of the righteous and the wicked, and to present ideas suggested by the Scriptures on these subjects in a plain way, for the edification of ordinary minds. As such, it is certainly a valuable production; and some portions of it, at least, could not be too highly commended. The name of the author is itself a warrant for a well-considered, honest, cautious, and suggestive treatise, adapted to its design. The great plainness, even homeliness, of the style, we are prepared for by the remark in the Preface, that the style, "which was adopted with a view to the instruction of a mixed congregation, consisting principally of the unlearned, . . has been retained, as appearing the best suited to meet the wants of various classes of readers, and the most in accordance with the character of a work designed to be, in its matter, plain and popular, without any abstruse metaphysical disquisitions."

The book consists of a series of lectures on the various topics included under the general subject of the Future State, delivered to the people of his parish by a faithful laborer in word and doctrine.

A glance at the history of Eschatology shows two things very plainly. First, that the Christian mind is farther from being settled on the subject of the Last Things, than on perhaps any other, so that this department of theology is likely

to be the last to attain scientific maturity; and, secondly, that the subject has a perpetual interest for the Christian mind, the greater, perhaps, because of the indefiniteness, in which the Scriptures have left it. There surely is some truth in the idea, which, in one form or another, has haunted at least some corner of the Church in all ages—the idea of an approaching new dispensation, which should be distinctively the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. Wherever an expectation of this sort has been avowed—as it was avowed with remarkable earnestness by the abbot Joachim towards the close of the Middle Age, and as it might be supposed to appear in the rise of such sects as the Swedenborgian and Irvingite—it has arisen from a sense of imperfection in the present spiritual intelligence of man. It is a faithful and reliable witness, that we do not yet know all, that may be known, respecting the spiritual kingdom, and that even our Christian conceptions are, in many instances at least, far from presenting us with the ultimate or absolute truth. As the law left the intelligent and earnest Jew anxiously feeling after something more satisfactory than the law, as a revelation of God; so the Christian dispensation thus far seems to leave the Christian mind in darkness or in uncertain twilight on many points, on which it longs for clear knowledge. Yet, in both cases, this very longing is an evidence of the relative perfection of the existing revelation; for the great object of all earthly revelation is to beget in men a hungering and thirsting after the higher and absolutely perfect knowledge to be attained in the heavenly state.

The work before us is an interesting testimony to the indefiniteness of even the Christian revelation on the subject of the future life; and it is fitted to produce on the mind of the reflecting reader a true and salutary impression of the narrow limits of our knowledge. We do wrong to depreciate in any degree the great advantage of the Christian dispensation over that of Moses; but we do equal wrong, to push our exaltation of the present to a fanatical extreme, at the expense of either the past or the future. To give the Gospel all the honor, which its staunchest friends can wish to claim for it, we need not regard it as opening everything to view, or settling defin-

ite conceptions for us on every point. Respecting the future state, our Lord and the apostles seem to give much information. The New Testament abounds with representations of the judgment, the endless rewards of the righteous, and the endless punishments of the wicked; as it does with prophetic descriptions of the second coming of Christ, and as the Old Testament did with pictures of Messianic times. We take these representations, which lie so plain on the surface, as it were, of divine revelation, and form from them views, which seem to go quite into detail, respecting the course of the soul after death. These we hold as the orthodox views, settled by the Bible. When thoughts are suggested, which seem to depart from them, or conflict with them, and leave the language of Scripture in some cases only symbolical, they strike us as opposed to the truth, and as going to undermine the doctrine of Scripture; and they find not entrance enough into our minds to be fairly revolved. The less a man reflects, the more he thinks he knows. Our author writes here like one, who weighs all his words. And he finds reason to speak on many points with less confidence, than many of his less thoughtful readers would do. The more a man reflects, the less he finds he knows, and the more cautious he becomes both in forming opinions and in expressing them; and we may add, with our eye on the pages in hand, the more suggestive and valuable his productions become. "Our Lord's account," says Dr. Whately, "(as well as that of his apostles,) of a future life, though most clear and positive as to the *fact*, is so scanty and imperfect as to the *circumstances*, that our curiosity is rather awakened than satisfied. We are told, indeed, as much as is sufficient for our practical use, when we have the certain assurance of future rewards and punishments, and the means set before us, by which immortal life may be secured; but we are not told by any means all, that we might naturally wish to know. Much is withheld from us, doubtless for good reasons; but for reasons, which we cannot always fully perceive, though we may sometimes in part guess at them." P. 45.

The absence of a positive expression of opinion on several points brought before us in this book, might bring upon the

author, from many readers, the reproach of being non-committal, and might excite suspicions of his orthodoxy on these points. But the honest inquirer after truth will fully agree with our author, when he forestalls such a judgment in the language immediately following the above: "For instance, we are not expressly told anywhere in Scripture, what becomes of a man immediately after death, during the interval between that and the final resurrection at the last day. There are some persons, indeed, who pronounce very confidently on this point; but without, I think, any sufficient grounds for that confidence. It is a more prudent, and humbler, and safer course, not to pretend to be wise above what is written, nor to know what our great Master has not thought fit to teach. To abstain from positive assertions, where there is no good ground for them, may be, to some of my readers, unsatisfactory; but surely doubt is better than error, or the chance of error; and acknowledged ignorance is wiser than groundless presumption. Conjectures, indeed, if cautiously and reverently framed, *may* be allowed, in a case where there is no certain knowledge; but I dare not speak *positively*, when the Scriptures do not." This is certainly a mental posture to be altogether approved, and one, which ought to prevail in all students of the mysteries of the spiritual kingdom. The principle thus stated by our author could not fail of good effect, if applied in the whole field of theological thought, to the unsparing mortification of all that narrowness of mind, which assumes, whether avowed or not, the infallibility of private opinion.

Connected with this inquiring reserve, which appears to characterize our work, is the absence of glowing, sensuous representations of scenes of the spiritual world; the restraint of that kind of fancy, which, with all its soaring, does not get above the material world, but is still entangled with the cumbrous notions of time and space. It is not uncommon to go quite into detail in descriptions of the resurrection, the general judgment, the enjoyments of heaven, and the torments of hell. Such descriptions may not be false, considered as symbols of spiritual facts otherwise incomprehensible to the finite mind; for the Scripture employs them to some extent;

but they may be easily indulged to the hindrance of a truly spiritual progress, and, if too much pressed, introduce perplexing questions without number, founded only in this sensuous fancy, and having really no place in a proper view of an eternal, spiritual state. So long as such representations are used only as aids to edifying meditation, they are safe and useful; but in the sphere of logic and dogmatics, they never fail to lead to inextricable confusion, which has the additional disadvantage of being altogether gratuitous. Our author does not indulge them much. He seems not, indeed, fully to reach the *principle*, on which they *should* be discarded; otherwise his whole discussion of the "intermediate state," would have taken a different turn; but he gets such glimpses of it occasionally, as make us wonder he does not admit it to wider influence over his thoughts. We mean the principle, that time and space are mere conditions of this earthly, phenomenal existence, and are not to be imposed upon the free life of the spiritual world. The spirit of the book, in this respect, is very justly expressed in the following paragraph: "On this state of happiness, and the society of those who shall partake of it, I propose to offer to you some remarks, in the succeeding Lectures; in which, as in those you have hitherto heard, you will meet with no such confident assertions as some are apt to throw out; nor be entertained with fanciful theories delivered as Scripture-truths; but you will meet with cautious endeavors to distinguish the certain from the doubtful: and where I cannot *extend* the boundaries of human knowledge, I will endeavor at least to point out where they lie. If I cannot give you such full and interesting accounts of divine mysteries as more daring inquirers pretend to do, I trust I can at least promise not to mislead you." P. 186 sq. The book may, therefore, seem meagre and dry to those, who consider discussions of the kind here referred to, necessary to a proper treatment of the subject, and whose interest in the prospect of the future life is more or less of that sentimental sort, which feeds on the mere husks and leaves of truth. For the same reason, however, its influence on the mind of the earnest Christian reader will be good. It will be found to leave some interesting questions, which many

think settled, entirely open; but this very fact will be a profitable suggestion; and what might thus seem to be a deficiency, a chasm, in the author's representation, will prove only a gateway, through which the pent-up thoughts may wander forth to exercise themselves in those wide fields of devout speculation, which God has after all left open for them.

We feel almost disposed to chide an author, so able no doubt to do it to edification, for not introducing us more freely, even in such a practical treatise as this is intended to be, to the ancient literature of the subject before him, and especially to some of those spiritual conceptions, which have possessed great minds in all ages, (though for obvious reasons they have never received symbolical expression in the Church,) respecting both the present and the future state of man; however "conjectural" or "unsound" he may regard them. We do not propose here to supply this defect, but only to point it out. The opinions of former gifted and pious students of the Scriptures have as rightful a place as our own interpretations (which must always be in a certain sense conjectural) in an effort to exhibit what the Scriptures teach. The real meaning of the phrase: "What the Scriptures teach," is neither more nor less than: What men have understood the Scriptures to teach. Exegesis can never be separated from the history of Christian opinion, without running dry; any more than the waters of the Jordan could be stopped and piled up at Jericho, without failing in the channel below. The true exegesis must be a growth from the general mind of the Church. The individual cannot expect to produce it from the seed in the one summer of a lifetime, as if from the hot-bed of his own fancy. He can only hope to contribute; and to do this to the best advantage, he must admit all the accessible impressions of others to a fair influence on his own. His own opinions should be the productions of a mental soil fertilized and impregnated by the rich growths of former ages well plowed in and decomposed. Perhaps Dr. Whately's are so here. But the principle, on which he proposes to exclude the speculations of others in a great degree, from his discussion, is false, and lies at the bottom of much of the theological contention and ecclesiastical division

of Christians; though the application of it in the particular case before us may not lessen the value of the work. "He has thought it best to abstain, for the most part, from all reference to these (various opinions of the fathers and of modern writers of high reputation), . . . chiefly because his design was to inquire exclusively what is to be learned from the records of *inspiration*, respecting a subject, on which uninspired men, he conceives, however learned and ingenious, can know no more than is revealed in Scripture, or may by short and simple arguments, be deduced from it." P. 8. But let this pass.

The author begins with a brief view of the question as to the revelation of the future state in the Old Testament. Though this is by no means the only interesting point, nor the most interesting and fruitful point, presented in the book, yet it is the point, which chiefly draws our attention to the work for the present.

The ordinary Christian reader hardly feels as if, in going back from the Epistles to the Psalms, or from the Gospels to the Books of Moses, he were passing from a region of spiritual light into one of comparative darkness. He sees as much true religion in David as in Paul. He finds the words of the one as edifying as those of the other, and as well framed to express the Christian piety of his own heart. In any comparative unfitness of the Old Testament to meet his own religious wants he finds no hint of a difference between it and the New, as to the conception of a future state. The two *seem* to presume equal knowledge both of its certainty and of its general character. And under the power of Christian prepossessions even some more reflecting minds think the presence of the Gospel idea of immortality among the acient people of God so plain as scarcely to call for formal proof; and when any proof is offered, the simple quotation of two or three sentences containing the word "heaven," or "glory," or "hell," is thought conclusive. So thoroughly are we possessed with the clear and certain knowledge of at least the fact of a life beyond the grave, that we cannot conceive of a man or a people being religious without some such knowledge. And we infer, that, as the an-

cient revelation was a true religious guide, it must have contained this doctrine. We read the Old Testament, not with the naked eye, but through the glass of the New. On this glass the doctrine of a future state is everywhere inscribed; and when we look at the Old Testament through it, we of course seem to see that inscription still on every page, though it is really not there at all.

On this point our author leaves us in no doubt as to his own opinion; and we think it true: "That neither Jew nor Gentile had, or could have, an assurance of a future state, but through the Gospel, is a truth so plainly taught in Scripture, and so fully confirmed by what we read in other books concerning the notions formerly entertained on the subject, that its having been doubted or denied by any Christian, is to me a matter of unfeigned wonder." P. 13. That the heathen could not reach the assurance of a future state without the Gospel, is not so likely to be denied; though the immortality of the soul is held by many to be one of the doctrines of so-called "natural" religion. And as, moreover, every argument, which may be urged against the revelation of a future life to the Hebrews, will hold still more as against the knowledge of a future life by the Gentiles, we shall not here stop to notice further this latter point. The question as between Hebrews and Christians is of considerable importance; and of a sort of importance, which makes the discussion and the proper answering of it a most suitable introduction to the other chapters of this book; not only on account of its general connection with the principal subject, but also by reason of its bearing on a just estimate of our present knowledge. We have already suggested the thought, that the Christian revelations respecting a future state are, after all, much less definite, than many think them to be, or presume them to be. A careful examination of the relation between the Old and New Testaments, and of the relation between separate parts of each, will open an interesting and useful view of the natural progress of divine revelation in the world. It will prevent our making relatively too little of the Christian dispensation, by an undiscriminating imposition of Christianity upon Judaism. It will prevent our

making relatively too much of our own present stage of religious advancement, at the expense of large and earnest views of present imperfection, and of a strong and intelligent and purifying hope for a further unfolding of Christianity even upon earth. When we come to search the Old Testament with a discriminating eye, if we find, that it really must have taught the ancient saints far less than we had supposed, and far less than we had presumed they certainly knew, we shall be prepared to form opinions more cautiously from what, on a superficial view, we might take for direct and positive revelations in the New Testament. A view of progress in the past will show us room for progress in the future. We shall think of the possibility, that the Christian of some distant coming age, standing to us as we now stand to the Hebrew Church, will look on many of our speculations and beliefs concerning an intermediate state, the scenery and occupations of heaven and hell, and on our many fleshly views of the resurrection, the judgment, and the rewards and punishments of the unseen world, with the same sort of interest, with which we now look back upon the ancient prevailing notions of Hades and Sheol. And this thought will greatly chasten our speculations and effectually check the inclination towards overweening dogmatism.

That the revelation of a future life was no part of the old economy, but is peculiar to the Gospel, seems quite clear from some such considerations as these:

In the first place, the undeniable presumption, that the divine discipline of mankind is progressive, and moves forward according to the laws of that nature, which God has given man. To say this, is only to give a reason for the continuance of our race and of the world by successive generations. It is to give the only satisfactory explanation of the present order of things. We cannot form any satisfactory theory of this ever changing state without regarding it as one great transition of the first or the old creation towards the new, of creation towards redemption. Everything visible betrays this character, in the perpetual process of birth, growth, and decay, going on in all departments of nature. But all is for man. And the history of mankind especially cannot be understood, except as a con-

stant improvement. God is not idly repeating the same work in endless cycles; else the idea of consummation were nothing, but that of a mere stopping, which might take place as well at one time as at another, as well now as any number of ages hence. He does not merely save some out of this generation, and then raise up another, to save more out of that. Each new generation begins, not where its parent began, but where its parent has stopped. God is gradually working in the whole race, to carry out a plan for the final redemption of mankind as a whole from ignorance, sin, and death.

We see the race, then, growing from spiritual infancy to manhood under the discipline of God, its heavenly Father. This idea of human progress involves the two ideas of a gradual increase in man's capacity for spiritual knowledge, and of a gradual communication of that knowledge from heaven according to this increase. So the wise parent or teacher watches the unfolding powers of the child, and adapts his instructions to them. Now the Advent of Christ was evidently a great era in the growth of man's spiritual faculties. It was the central era of the world's history—at least of all within the compass of our vision,—the point, where mankind seems to pass from nonage to majority, from the light-heartedness and waywardness of childhood to the sober self-control of the man, or at least to the sentimental freedom of the youth beginning to get some idea of what a man ought to be; from the dominion of impulse to the dominion of reason. There the race seems to reach years of discretion. It stops in its thoughtless, spontaneous wandering away from God, to smite penitently on its breast, and begin a return to its Father's house. Before that era those only obeyed, who saw the rod of divine authority above them, and they obeyed only as under the rod; since that period, all, who know, seem endeavoring to obey as for themselves. Now we might well presume, that this era would be marked by some important new communications from God, answering to this growth in man; some new revelation both of man's own life and destiny, and of the gracious plan and work of God. The great new revelation respecting God was Christ himself. This fact itself, as well as the evident difference just

mentioned between the Mosaic and the Christian periods of history, would seem to require, that the doctrine of a future or spiritual state should be at least *one* new revelation, if not *the* new revelation, for this era, respecting man. In the Church the former period was a dispensation of outward laws on the part of God, and a period of subjection to outward authority on the part of man. During this stage of its life mankind needed just this kind of discipline. And its receiving such treatment shows what its capacities for spiritual knowledge were. Men could not see below the surface of things. They were not prepared to comprehend the inward and spiritual, or to feel the force of considerations, whose direct bearing on their condition they could not see. Only think how carnal the mass of Christians still is even at this advanced and comparatively mature age of our race. When told that a certain course of conduct will ruin the soul forever, and even now impairs true happiness, we have to use effort to keep that in mind and perceive its force. But if we only see poverty, or disgrace, or death ahead, we quickly change the tack. From this actual state of things we may easily go back to one, in which men had no susceptibility at all to such spiritual considerations. And if we find so little of it in ourselves, a former age, to have had less, could hardly have had any. We speak of the mass of the people. The whole history of the Israelites, especially the earlier part of it, exhibits them as, in fact, "a dull, gross-minded, and unthinking people,"—as Dr. Whately says—"who appear to have been (like children) so wholly taken up with the objects present to their senses, that they could hardly be brought to think of anything beyond the morrow." P. 17. Any clear revelation of a future spiritual state would seem as incongruous with such an age of the world, as a metaphysical lecture with an infant school. If there be a progress in the divine discipline of mankind, this fact itself is strong presumptive evidence, that the revelation of a future state, as well as of all spiritual things, is peculiar to the Christian dispensation, the more advanced and mature age of the Church.

Accordingly—to pass to a proof, on which our author lays

special stress—we find in the apostle Paul the distinct, unequivocal declaration, that "our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." (2 Tim. 1 : 10.) No material change can be made in the force of this passage by varying the interpretations of the expression: "brought to light." Take the phrase as we will, it points to a decided advance in the knowledge of men respecting "life and immortality," which were before involved in darkness. This latter expression is singular. It evidently means: "everlasting life," "life eternal." The word "immortality" would seem intended, not to add a new idea, but only to explain and define the "life." For the Apostle's use of the word "life" at all here, shows, that he uses it in its highest spiritual sense; as when the Saviour says: "I am the resurrection and the life." By "life" is here meant: that, which does not die; for the Apostle puts the word in antithesis with "death." Only death had been revealed before, through the law; and by this we may understand either that spiritual death intended by the Apostle, when he says he found the law, "which was ordained unto life, to be to death;" or, more probably, the outward and perishable, whose perpetual decay is but a type of this spiritual death. Before Christ, God gave men "the rudiments of this world." He left them, so far as direct revelation was concerned, without knowledge of that immortal, spiritual essence, which lies behind everything visible and forms the support even of its temporary, visible existence. Christ has brought to light not merely things seen and temporal, but things unseen and eternal; not merely outward, earthly things, which, in their incessant decay, are really only one continuous revelation of death, but the inward life of things, that, which puts forth the transient appearance in successive generations, and abides after it is gone forever. This is the only true way to abolish death; to show, that it is not what it appears to be; that it does not really destroy man, though it destroys his visible body; to reveal an inward man, which is renewed day by day under the crumbling shell of the outward, and whose renewal is completed by the very stroke, which shivers the earthly house of clay.

But then we must consider also, that Christ himself, and he alone, *is* this life. He is "*the* life." Where he is not, there is no life. "By him all things consist." It is not the believer, who lives, but Christ, who lives in him. Hence any revelation of life eternal, or of a future state, must be a revelation of Christ himself. The words of St. Paul to Timothy have this deep meaning: That through the Gospel, life and immortality were brought to light by the Saviour in himself; life and immortality *came to light in Christ.* And when, from this point, we say, that, if God had intended to reveal a future state to his ancient people, he would have revealed Christ, the Mediator between the earthly and the heavenly, we say what would be found required by other Scriptural views of the same subject, which might be pursued. The future state was revealed in the Old Testament no farther, than Christ himself was made known as the life.

In entire agreement with this view are such facts as these:

1. The Books of Moses say nothing directly about future rewards and punishments, even in such passages as the twenty-eigth chapter of Deuteronomy, where the prophet would exhaust the whole known catalogue of blessings and of curses. If the future state, as known to Christians, had been known in the times of Moses, it were impossible to account for the absence of the slightest hint of it, where the Christian would surely make it most prominent. The Fifth Commandment breathes the spirit of the whole Mosaic law in this respect: "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

2. Eminent saints of the ancient Church, whose devotional writings have come down to us, often betray entire ignorance of a future life, and seem to take for granted, that man's whole life ends at the grave. It may be hard *for us* to conceive of a truly religious man, without the knowledge of immortality. But this cannot alter the fact before us. David was a truly pious man; yet he expresses himself in such words as those of Ps. 6: 4, 5. 30: 3, 9. 39: 13. 88: 10–12. "Wilt thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee?" Job asks: "If a man die, shall he live again?" And in all

his affliction he seems to have had no comforting anticipations of a happy future out of this world. To some of these passages Dr. Whately directs our attention; and to Hezekiah's thanksgiving for recovery, Is. 38; 9 sqq: "The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they, that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day." Many such expressions are by some, we believe, regarded as implying only ignorance of the resurrection of the body. But this doctrine and that of the immortality of the soul go together. Or, were either revealed to the Hebrews, the former were certainly more congruous with such an outward, fleshly dispensation, and more fruitful of motives for so sensuous a people.

3. On the death of good men, even where some special notice is taken of their death, and in some cases pious lamentations are recorded,—at the deaths of the patriarchs, and of Moses, and Aaron, and David, even at the translations of Enoch and Elijah,—there appears no reference to their future life, such as the Christian involuntarily makes. So at the destruction of Korah and his company, and in David's lamentations over Saul, and Jonathan, and Absalom, there appears no hint of any definite, abiding impression in the minds of the survivors respecting a life beyond the grave. Indeed the peculiar formula of the Old Testament, for recording the death even of the best of men, is simply: "He died," or: "He was gathered to his fathers;" it never adds: "In the hope of a blessed immortality."

4. The Sadducees of the Christian era denied a future state, or at least a resurrection, and a spiritual world in general, as distinct from the natural and visible. They were the Jewish rationalists, it is true, or deists; yet they acknowledged in their way the mass of the Old Testament Scriptures, especially the law of Moses, and they were acknowledged as Jews by being placed or tolerated in office as Sanhedrists and high-priests; showing, that the writings of Moses were, by many in that day, not understood to contain any unequivocal assertion, at all events, of a future state.

5. Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher of the seventeenth cen-

tury, could not find the doctrine of immortality in the Old Testament; and a fact still more significant—Warburton made use of the silence of the Old Testament on this subject in his argument for the divine legation of Moses.

6. The general tone of the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The writings of Solomon contain the most profound thoughts of a mind distinguished in that whole dispensation for sagacity and depth. And they undoubtedly give a faithful picture of that dispensation as a revelation of spiritual things. But the book of Ecclesiastes could never have been written by one, who possessed the Christian revelation. It is plainly the product of a great mind feeling after the spiritual by the instinct of an immortal, spiritual nature, in an age of darkness respecting the spiritual destiny of man. Only some such view of its origin can account for its peculiar character. Considering the Preacher to be left in entire uncertainty respecting the future state of man, we can understand how he can exclaim, as he contemplates the vanity of sensible things: "What profit hath a man of all his labor, which he taketh under the sun? . . . That, which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts; . . . as one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath. . . . I praised the dead, which are already dead, more than the living, which are yet alive. Yea, better is he, than both they, which hath not yet been." We are not surprised to find him, at some turns of his thought, almost abandoning all thought and all effort in despair. But when we consider how many suggestions of spiritual truth he must have found in the mysterious hieroglyphics of the material world and of history, we can also understand how, feeling after the immortal state, as the heathen sages felt after God, he can settle upon this as "the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole (duty of) man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

These are some of the reasons, as they flow in upon the mind at the suggestion of Dr. Whately's pages, for believing his view of this subject to be the true one; though he by no

means exhausts the material for its defence. As *fontes solutionum*, might be further mentioned:

1. The well known Old Testament signification of the term "hell," and the whole Hebrew doctrine of Sheol, quite parallel with the heathen Greek conception of Hades. Nothing more conclusively proves, that the Jews were left to form their own ideas of the future state, than the ideas, which they actually formed, and especially the constant appearance of these conceptions in the sacred writers of the Old Testament. In fact the biblical Hebrew language has no word for the New Testament idea of "hell," as the place or state of eternal torment for the wicked. It is easy to imagine, how the soul's instinct of immortality, with so rude a people as the ancient Hebrews, might be so combined with the notion of the grave, in which the dead were laid, as to produce just the ancient idea of Sheol—a dark and silent subterraneous abode, in which the spirit, like the body in the grave, sinks into mysterious repose, a vast cavern in the bosom of the earth, untrodden by living man, unseen by any eye, opening its impregnable doors only to admit the new inhabitants of its dreariness, as they sank beneath the sunny surface of the land of the living. Into this immense mansion all the dead descended, each taking his separate place among the multitude. There they dwelt as ghosts ("weak"), spirit-forms, powerless, inactive, and even without thought or sensation. And this was conceived to be the final abode of all. Of any opening of its mighty gates to restore its spectral inmates to life and activity, whether of happiness or of misery, the Jews in general seem to have had no conjecture; the best of them evidently had no certain knowledge of such an issue.

2. Although the Old Testament contains scattered expressions, which indicate higher views of the future state—of which the passage, Ps. 16: 10sq.: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," &c., may be taken as the best representative,—yet such views, as they lay in the minds of the ancient saints themselves, were plainly as conjectural as that of Sheol. The notion of heaven, which prevailed in such minds as David and Solomon, and is ever before us in the Psalms, was simply that

of an invisible world, inhabited by the invisible God and his angels—whether regarded as differing from the visible world by distance of space or in mode of subsistence;—a world of life and power and enjoyment, as Sheol was the land of inactivity, weakness, and forgetfulness. This divine sphere, being above the earthly in kind or order of life, was naturally conceived to be above in space, as Sheol was placed below. From this higher region all the life, that was in the world proceeded. Thence God stooped to the creation. Thence he sent forth his angels on their embassies to men. Thence he thundered upon Sinai. Thence went forth the sword of his justice and vengeance against the wicked. Thence he sent down his Spirit into the prophets, and made all his inspired revelations in men. And thither were men's eyes and hands directed, when they would indicate the converse of their souls with God in prayer and praise and sacrifice. The invisible wind is the best earthly type of spirit; and the atmosphere, which is everywhere above the earth—the boundless ethereal region, into which man, with his foot on the grosser soil, raises his head—well symbolizes the relation of the divine order of life to the human. With this view of heaven Solomon prays: "Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling-place;" and David exclaims: "Whom have I in heaven but thee?" It plainly does not coincide with the New Testament idea of heaven as the eternal abode of "the spirits of the just made perfect," beyond the grave. In fact, the sacred writer to the Hebrews, in the passage just alluded to, is at pains to persuade the Jewish Christians, that under the new dispensation they have come, as they had not under the old, "to the heavenly Jerusalem, to God the Judge of all," &c.

With this heavenly world the ancient saints, it is true, felt themselves connected, as really and as constantly as with the earthly; and there often drop, from David especially, expressions, which, molded by the Christian doctrine of the future state, would stand with Paul's earnest longings "to be absent from the body and present with the Lord." But one strong evidence of the absence of the New Testament idea of the future state from the old economy may be just the fact, that, among all David's expressions of desire for the presence of

God, there are none, which show, that he regarded death as the way to that presence. We have, therefore, to take that passage of the sixteenth Psalm, for example, as the words of conjecture, molded into the emphatic form of positive assertion by the vehemence of desire. They cannot otherwise be reconciled with the many passages, which betray the presumption, that the grave is the goal of life. St. Peter's declaration, that these words were spoken of the Messiah, by no means involves the supposition, that David understood them so, or that he intended to speak them of any other than himself. The indefinite impression of a spiritual, divine sphere of life and happiness, and of man's relation to it as an intelligent worshipper of God,—this impression, combined with the instinct of immortality, which reveals itself even in the gloomy notion of Sheol, may easily be supposed to have urged the more elevated minds of the ancient Church to such anticipations of the Christian idea of heaven as these words indicate. We can imagine the inspired Psalmist, as he revolves the precious promise of the Messiah to deliver his people out of all trouble, tracing the conquering path of the Redeemer into that future, to which his own nature pointed, and opening even the terrible gates of Hades for the deliverance of his people. Or, considering the Psalmist entirely unconscious of the reference of his words and spirit to the Messiah, we can think of him as meditating, perhaps in unusual mental elevation, on the present and the promised goodness of God to him; and, as if he could not bear the dismal thought of all this goodness ending at the grave without accomplishing any lasting object, he ventures to add the supplicatory profession of confidence: "Thou *wilt not* leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one—thy pious worshipper and beloved child—to see corruption. Thou *wilt* show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures forevermore."

3. The Psalmist's numerous imprecations on the wicked—the enemies of Zion or of himself—so far from showing a knowledge of future rewards and punishments, as the language might sometimes be supposed to do, seem rather to indicate

entire absence of the Christian idea of eternal punishment from the mind of the writer. These imprecations sound to our ears, inconsistent with the devout spirit otherwise pervading the book of Psalms, and have called forth various efforts to explain them. But the inconsistency is at least greatly diminished, if we suppose the writer to have regarded the death of the wicked as simply finishing them, and putting them out of the way; cutting them off, indeed, from their present enjoyments (and for this, it is not foreign to the Christian spirit to pray), but not involving any further suffering beyond the grave, nor depriving them of opportunities, which they would otherwise have, to secure eternal blessedness in a life to come; therefore not as a matter of such awful moment as death is to us. As the Psalmist did not consider death the gate to a future blessedness for himself, so he did not think of it as bringing with it a future misery to his enemies. This thought alone, it is true, does not entirely remove the difficulty; but it enables us more easily to admit the idea of the Psalmist's unduly yielding occasionally to the excitement of anger, as he did on one memorable occasion to the power of lust, and as even St. Paul seems to have done before the high-priest Ananias. (Acts 23: 3.) This idea it would seem absolutely necessary to admit, to some extent, even though all the passages concerned were translated and translateable in the indicative instead of the optative form, as some interpreters propose.

4. This view of the Old Testament revelation does not at all depreciate the faith of the ancient saints, so as to leave it short of saving faith. Only we must here, as everywhere, duly discriminate between faith and knowledge, or between the principle of faith and the exercise or phenomenon of faith. The principle is always the same; the phenomenon takes various forms according to circumstances. True, saving faith may exist in the soul without any knowledge at all; the principle of faith—the union of the soul to Christ—may be present in a person, without exhibiting any phenomena in thought and feeling; though this can occur only where the physical or temporal conditions of the individual naturally forbid intelli-

gent mental exercises, as in infants and insane persons. The infant, which dies in infancy and is saved, has faith, as truly as the most intelligent adults; for "without faith it is impossible to please" God. It has true saving faith in Christ; but it has no knowledge of Christ. And where the conditions of the earthly life admit and favor the development of faith in exercises of thought and feeling, those exercises will of course shape themselves according to the matter and extent of the person's knowledge; in other words, according to the character of the divine revelations to him; while, under every form it may thus take, the faith will have the same saving virtue. There is, accordingly, no necessity to suppose, nor reason to require, in the ancient saints a knowledge of the future state, in order to see in them that faith, which eternally saves; any more than to require or suppose in them a knowledge of Christ. Indeed it is interesting, and very instructive, to notice, that in that list of examples of faith in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, all the acts, which the writer cites as the outworkings of faith, had respect only to earthly salvation. They in no case indicate any intelligent regard to good beyond this world. And we may remark by the way, that if these ancient worthies had known of a future state, they would have at least betrayed a conscious reference to it in some of their actions; and in this case, such phenomena of faith would be of the sort, before all others, to be presented here. Noah builds his ark, to provide against the flood. Abraham sets out for the land of Canaan, to inherit it. Joseph gives commandment concerning his bones, with his eye on the promised deliverance of his brethren. Moses forsakes Pharaoh's household, to escape the royal vengeance. Rahab harbors the spies, to save herself and her kindred. Yet the faith, which appeared in these earthly forms, could be truly represented by the inspired writer as really, though unconsciously to the subjects of it, reaching forward to an eternal reward.

5. The failure to find the clear knowledge of the future state in the Old Testament, need not, and should not, diminish the practical value of that part of the Bible for us. It should rather, in some respects, increase it. It cannot affect the pro-

priety of our putting as spiritnal a construction as we would otherwise do, on, for example, the devotional and many of the prophetic parts; and that, too, without the cumbrous hypothesis of a double sense. The twenty-third Psalm is of no less value as a legitimate text for the most spiritual meditations of the Christian mind, when we regard the poet as referring in every verse to earthly blessings and dangers, than if we should think him to have spiritual favors all along in his eye. The *spirit* of the production is the same, which *we* should cultivate with respect to both this life and the life to come; though it *there* necessarily had reference to this world, and its *expressions* moved entirely in the sphere of earthly life. How often, in fact, are our own warmest, most spiritual Christian exercises of piety destitute of all conscious reference to the future state. It is altogether gratuitous to suppose, that knowledge of the future state is essential to the maintenance of a truly religious spirit. Rather might it testify to the genuineness of our religion, that we regard God for his own sake, not with a view to future reward; as those ancient saints, with no revelation or intelligible promise of good beyond this world, with only this life, in which to expect the favor of God, still implicitly followed the divine direction in a childlike faith, which made them indeed strangers and pilgrims on the earth. More truly still, the regard for God and the regard to the future reward are, in every pious mind, identical; for the future reward is God himself.

And here is a suitable place to introduce some remarks, which have a more evident and important connection with other parts of Dr. Whately's work, which we have thus far left unnoticed, and which we must now leave without such discussion as they demand.

The phrase, "future state," or "life to come," ought to be used with discrimination, at least when any important issue depends on an accurate use of the terms. There is ample room for the question, whether, in every truly religious act, in which the knowledge of what we call the future state, plays no part, there be not, after all, just as real a reference to that state, as there is in our thought of it as a future state; wheth-

er the thought of a future state be not one among many other forms of religious mental exercise, not involving any more real and definite reference to that state itself, than any of the other forms;—whether, in fact, the idea of futurity be an essential element of the idea of immortality, or only a condition of the existence of this idea in our finite minds; whether the future life is to be regarded as beginning only when what we call the present life ends; whether the terms "present" and "future" in this case, denote *time* at all, and not rather *state;* whether, at any rate, their application be not limited to this temporal state, so that the term "future," as applied to the eternal state, has meaning only by a sort of negative, reflex reference to the temporal, and not by virtue of any property or condition of the eternal itself, to which it might apply. It is not a mere theory peculiar to this or that school of philosophy, that time and space are nothing but conditions of this phenomenal earthly life; any more than it is matter of pure speculation, that this earthly life is only phenomenal, the apparent, transient, unsubstantial form of eternal, spiritual, invisible substance. Both are Scriptural ideas, as truly as the idea of immortality. The latter we find plainly implied in that passage of Hebrews: "Things, which are seen, were not made of things which do appear (literally, of phenomena);" i. e. "were made strictly, became, or grew, of things, which do not appear (literally, of that, which is not phenomenal, of an invisible substance);" and in that of 2nd Corinthians: "The things, which are seen, are temporal; but the things, which are not seen, are eternal;" and mysteriously pictured in the translations of Enoch and Elijah, the Old Testament angelophanies, the transfiguration of Christ, and the course of his resurrection-body till the ascension. There is even more truth than poetry in those words of James: "What is your life? It is even a vapor, that *appeareth* for a little time and then *vanisheth away*." The former is almost in so many words asserted in the solemn declaration of the angel in John's vision, that "there shall be time no longer," (Rev. 10: 6;) in the words of Moses: "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, when it is past, and as a watch in the night," (Ps. 90: 4;) and in those

of Peter: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." (2 Peter 3: 8.) These expressions are not intended simply to say, that time passes more quickly with the Lord, than with man; as it seems to pass more rapidly with us in some circumstances, than in others; nor that God can do as much in one day as in a thousand years, the consideration of time being nothing with him. Both these ideas are included, indeed, in the true one; but the fundamental thought is, that time is a mere appearance, as is suggested when one dreams over a life-time in what is to another but an instant. The doctrine is most strikingly implied in the Saviour's words, which seem purposely constructed to hint his entire freedom from and mastery over the human limitations of time, in his higher nature: "Before Abraham was, I am." So with the idea of space. It must disappear, the moment we pass the bounds of this mortal state; the moment the earthly phenomena cease, and the earthly life goes out, as the floating cloud upon the sunny sky. Death is not a change of place with man, but a change of state or mode of existence. The above mentioned hints of the Scriptures indicate not only the freedom of *God* from the conditions of space and time, but the entire absence of those conditions from the *spiritual world;* so that, when *man* leaves this earthly stage, he enters a state, in which, to him, time and space are no longer. We cannot even say—as we believe Swedenborgians do, for example, who profess to be so spiritual in their views,—that, though time no longer really exists to him, yet the *appearance* of time cleaves to him, from force of habit, perhaps, as in a dream. For time is, in any case, only an appearance; and all that binds man to it, even in sleep, is his actual connection still with the phenomenal world through the body; and this connection is at death supposed to be entirely dissolved. The common effort, therefore, to comprehend or to illustrate eternity by joining vast periods of time, is an effort in a false direction, and hence never leads to any satisfactory results; never finds us nearer the idea, at the end of our effort, than we were at the beginning. For Eternity is the negation of Time. So with infinity, or immensity, at least in the theological sense. It is not to

be conceived by piling one vast region of space upon another. It is the negation of space, as the term itself means. Infinite, boundless, immeasurable space, (if the words are intended to be used with philosophical accuracy,) is a contradiction in terms; and so is eternal time. Every conception of space *must* include the idea of the *possibility* of measurement; the term, "immense," can be applied to space only in a relative sense. Absolute impossibility of measurement or calculation, absolute infinity, can be predicated only of that, which is not subject at all to the conditions of space and time, and to which our words of time and place—our now, and then, and here, and there—cannot apply, except in a purely symbolical way. It is in this view, that we have suggested, that the word "future," as applied to the spiritual world, is not to be taken in a temporal sense, and does not describe any characteristic of the spiritual state with philosophical precision, but is only a symbolical designation of that state as different from the existing temporal state, not as future *in* time, but as future *without* time, and that the idea of futurity is not an element of the true idea of immortality.

Now this thought, if it be true (and it is surely *Scriptural*, even in Dr. Whately's sense of that term,) ought to be carried into all speculations on the future state. This is by no means saying, that the terms in question are in such sense false, as to be useless for purposes of ordinary edifying meditation and discourse. We would, by no means propose the discarding of physical terms in all our reflections on spiritual things. Pious thought, with the mass of Christians at least, *must* move in the sphere of these temporal conditions, until some new religious era raise the Church to a far higher power of spiritual vision, than she now has. But to build *theories* of the spiritual state upon these physical notions; to lay down a certain order of events in the history of the departed spirit, not merely as a confessedly symbolical representation, but as the actual reality itself, so that we have questions of time and space to solve in a scientific way respecting them;—to do this, is simply absurd. It involves a philosophical solecism throughout. We might as reasonably institute an anatomical and

optical inquiry into the organization of the "four beasts round about the throne, full of eyes before and behind." The Scriptures, indeed, everywhere use such terms; but only for practical purposes; they never theorize respecting the spiritual state; they only suggest thoughts of it in such a way as to bear most effectually on the present conduct and religious experience of men. No body thinks of constructing an astronomical system from such passages as Joshua's command to the sun to stand still, or any of the common forms of expression respecting astronomical motions; though these, too, abound in the Scriptures, to the entire exclusion of the present scientific ideas; yet not even would Newton himself dream of discarding this mode of speech for the common purposes of life. When we do undertake so unreasonable a task, in the matter of the future state, no wonder we find ourselves beset at once with perplexing and absolutely insolvable (because illegitimate) questions about the intermediate state, the resurrection, the judgment, &c.; and no wonder we find the Scriptures obscure, and even apparently uncertain and self contradictory, on such questions as we thus raise.

What we call the future, immortal life, therefore, is not a life, which *begins* only when this mortal life ends. "He that believeth on the Son, *hath* everlasting life." Life eternal is not an endless prolongation of life temporal; but it is to know God and Jesus Christ. Hence the mental exercises of the ancient saints towards God may have been just as spiritual, without the knowledge of the future state, as they could have been, or as our religious exercises generally are, with it. If Abraham and David knew and loved God, and obeyed him in faith, they had knowledge of what is really the future state, that is, the eternal state of happiness, as truly as we have; only they had it not under the form of something temporally future, to be fully revealed only by the abolition of time and the separation of the individual from this earthly order of things. In this way the foregoing remarks, which may have seemed a digression, apply to the point, from which we passed to them.

We can now only briefly suggest the application of the prin-

ciple thus stated to several other points in Dr. Whately's book, where it would at least change the character of our difficulties, and make them such as we can better bear, though it can by no means clear up the mystery. Our author strikingly and truly alludes to the spirit, in which the Scriptures uniformly treat the subject of the future state: "The whole passage (2 Peter 3,) is one, which illustrates very strongly an observation which I have made more than once (in the course of our present inquiry) respecting the brief, dry, unpretending, uncircumstantial manner, in which a future state is everywhere spoken of by the sacred writers. 'The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up.' Here we might have looked, if anywhere, for a detailed description of the several circumstances attending this great catastrophe,—for impassioned exclamations concerning it, and magnificent pictures of the scenes that will occur. No such thing: the Apostle immediately proceeds to a practical application of the knowledge he has imparted, to the lives of his hearers." p. 190 sq. And in another place he gives as one of the reasons for the silence of the Scriptures on many points of supposed interest, "that most likely there are many things connected with (the subject) which we could not possibly comprehend, with our present faculties, any more than a man born blind can understand the nature of colors; so that unless our powers of understanding were enlarged beyond what is fitting for our present state of existence, any attempt to explain to us such mysteries would be likely to mislead or bewilder us." p. 162. This is a consideration altogether just. But the true ground of it is the principle, that the spiritual world admits not the conditions of space and time. And as our author has not this principle in mind as the foundation of his remark here we are not surprised to find him, in the same way, though not to the same extent, as many others, disregarding the very lesson of reserve thus read from the Scriptures, and endeavoring to conceive the spiritual life in a way not warranted by the representations and hints of the Scriptures as a whole, and not at all called for by any practical need.

In the view above presented, the question of an intermediate state falls out of the sphere of scientific discussion; just as the question, on what the earth rests, ceased to be a proper question, so soon as the earth was found to be a globe in perpetual motion. The proper problem for science here is, to apprehend clearly that state of things, or those principles, by which this question of an intermediate state is thus excluded. "Intermediate," "between," are words of space and time; and where there is no space nor time, these terms can have no philosophical application. Our author comes, in fact, to a certain exclusion of this question, but only by the aid of physical notions; and his view really rests on such notions, instead of beginning and ending independently of them. In Lecture IV, he discusses the arguments for an intermediate state of sleep. He evidently inclines to rest in that doctrine himself, and finds less difficulty with it, than with any other view of the intermediate state; and with good reason, viz: because he thus comes as near throwing out the question entirely, as he could come, while he retained the notion. One of his chief arguments in favor of this view, is in the form of an answer to the objection, that the idea of passing into a state of unconsciousness, perhaps for ages, is too dreary and painful to be admitted into the Christian's prospect. His answer is: The objection proceeds from the imagination only, not from the understanding. "When we view things by the light of the understanding, they present a very different aspect. Reason tells us (the moment we consider the subject,) that a long and a short space of time are exactly the same to a person, who is insensible. All our notion of time is drawn from the different impressions on our minds succeeding one another; so that when any one loses his consciousness (as in the case of a fainting fit, or of those recovered from drowning, suffocation, or the like,) he not only does not perceive the length of the interval between the loss of his consciousness and the return of it, but there is (*to him*) *no* such interval; the moment, at which he totally lost his sensibility, seems (and *is* to *him*,) immediately succeeded by the moment in which he regains it. In the case of ordinary sleep . . . it will often happen, when

any one sleeps very soundly, that the moment of his waking shall appear to him immediately to succeed that of falling asleep; although the interval may have been many hours. . . The long and dreary interval, then, between death and the day of judgment (supposing the intermediate state to be a profound sleep,) does not exist at all, except in the imagination. To the party concerned, there is *no* interval whatever; but to each person (according to this supposition) the moment of his closing his eyes in death, will be instantly succeeded by the sound of the last trumpet, which shall summon the dead; even though ages shall have intervened." pp. 81–84. The fault we find with this representation is, not that it does not sufficiently exclude the consideration of time from the spiritual world, but that it assumes unconsciousness in order to this exclusion, and thus after all, secretly lets temporal conditions fully into the conception of eternity.

Dr. Whately very justly refers to the sensuousness of the prevailing conceptions of spirit in this way: "It is remarkable, that a great part of mankind, and these not least, who profess to hold, not only the distinct nature of the soul from any material substance, but even its power of continuing active and conscious when disunited from matter, are nevertheless altogether *materialists*, and mean by a *spirit*, only some thin and delicate kind of matter, like a cloud or a ray of light, &c., which is an object of the senses, but not of *all* the senses. This is plainly the case, not only with those, who believe in the common stories of ghosts (that is, spirits) *appearing* and speaking; but also with those who, though they disbelieve these accounts, yet perceive nothing *contradictory* and inconceivable in the idea of the *appearing of the spirit;* which of course would appear to them mere words without meaning, if they understood by "spirit," something which does not consist of matter, and consequently cannot have (as a visible object must) shape, height, color, &c." p. 59, note. This bears well towards the proper liberation of the conception of the future state from the condition of space. Accordingly, in the chapter on the "condition of the Blest and their Abode in Heaven," the author says: "Indeed, we have no reason to suppose that that

great Spirit, whom we call God, and whom we suppose not to partake at all of the nature of any material substance, has any relation to *place* at all, or can be properly said to be *in* any place. Strictly speaking, it is not that God is everywhere *present*, but rather, that all things are *present to Him*; as falling under his perfect knowledge and complete control. When, therefore, we speak of the blest as being admitted into the *presence* of God, we must remember, that this has not necessarily anything to do with change of *place*, but implies rather a change in their *condition*." p. 194 sq. But he seems still encumbered with the same sensuousness, he has disapprovingly remarked in others. He evidently has not the apostle Paul's idea of a *spiritual* body. The apostle takes pains to present this idea in distinct opposition to that of the natural body; and his conception is strikingly exemplified in the resurrection-body of Christ, which evidently was not, as to its proper essence, visible, nor limited to space (only its occasional miraculous *appearances* were,) and which would seem to have put forth such phenomena as it did through forty days, ending with the ascension, on purpose to suggest to the disciples its invisible spiritual nature. This nature was such, that in the very act of exhibiting that miraculous phenomenon of ascension and departure, the Lord could say, without any qualification restricting his language to his Spirit merely, or his higher nature, and evidently intending it to apply to his whole person: "Lo, *I* am with you alway, even to the end of the world." Quite inconsistently with this Scriptural view, and even with his own language, as quoted above, Dr. W. says: "The eternal habitation of the blest is described by the apostle as "new heavens and a new earth:" meaning by "heavens," the air we breathe and sky over our heads, as he means by "earth," the place on which we dwell. And this description must be understood, in a great degree, at least, literally; since the blest in the next world, having real material bodies as now, though different from their present bodies, must inhabit some *place*, fitted for the reception of such bodies." p. 192. "Although, however, the All-present Spirit, which we call God, has no relation to place, nor can be said to be in one part of

the universe more than in another; it must be otherwise with the bodily person of the Lord Jesus, with whom the Divine Spirit was mysteriously united. A *body* must be in some *place*, and cannot be in more than one at once." p. 196 sq. Here are several fallacies crowded together. One is, that God is represented—contrary to the author's own words on p. 194—as *in* the universe. Rather is the universe in God. Another is, that a *body* must be *material*, and hence that the blest in the next world, to have real bodies, must have material bodies, and so a place for those bodies. Paul specially distinguishes the bodies of the blest as *spiritual* bodies. A third fallacy, or at least a gratuitous assumption, is, that the person of Christ is divisible, so that his "bodily person" must be in some one *place*, while the Divine Spirit, mysteriously united with him, may be in all places, or has no relation to place. Of this the Lord himself gives no hint; but rather hints and takes for granted the contrary in all the expressions of his self-consciousness, especially in his parting words to his disciples. Thus the vain question of the place of heaven must arise. "Whether the *place* of the habitation of the blest will be this present earth, renewed and restored to such a condition as that in which it is supposed to have been created, when the first man was placed in Paradise, or altered in some other way; or whether they will be fixed in some other part of the universe, we have no means of ascertaining, nor is it of any consequence that we should know." p. 192 sq. This question, like that of the intermediate state, would never be encountered, were the principle now before us properly applied. A *spiritual* body must be one, which is not merely refined matter, but is of the nature of spirit as distinct from matter. Body or substance is not the antithesis of spirit; else Paul's expression were a contradiction in terms, as "spiritual matter," or "material spirit" would be. *Matter* is the antithesis of spirit, as Dr. Whately himself, in one place, puts it. And if in the above passage, where he speaks of the blest as "having real material bodies," we insert the Apostle's description of the bodies of the blest, the absurdity of the sentence, and the author's self-contradiction too, will appear: "The blest in the

next world, having real material spiritual bodies," &c. According to the note quoted above against the prevailing sensuous notions of spirit, ought not Dr. W. to make a remark respecting the glorified saints, like the one he makes respecting God,—that they have no relation to *place* at all, and cannot properly be said to be *in* any place? Then we should conceive of heaven, not as a place, but as a state or condition, viz: the condition of being present with God, of which Dr. W. himself speaks in language already quoted. And any one, who carefully weighs some of Paul's most profound and philosophical and least figurative expressions,—such as 2 Cor. 5: 1, 6, 8. Eph. 1: 3; 2: 6—will be persuaded that his prevailing idea of heaven does not include the notion of place at all.

It may be said—and said with truth,—that such thoughts do not solve the difficulties in the way of a clear apprehension of that future state, which even to this day lies in the mind of the Church, as pretty much an undeveloped matter of faith. It is as hard to comprehend a timeless and spaceless state of being, as to comprehend measureless space and time. Thus we seem only to substitute new difficulties for the old. But surely this may be something worth doing. It is an advance, in every scientific research, to find out that we are on a wrong track, and to leave it for one, which seems nearer right, though it should seem no easier. The difficulties thus introduced are worthy objects for philosophy to grapple with, or to stop at. The others were not. These are mysteries; the others were absurdities. The history of eschatology—of the Church's looking for the Second Coming of Christ—betrays a general tendency to carnal views, like the history of the Jewish expectations of the first Advent. We should be well aware of this, and endeavor to guard against it.

We do not leave this subject without a more earnest longing, than we had when we entered upon it, for deliverance from the necessity of conceiving spiritual things only by natural analogies, and of dealing in a discursive, logical way with what really belongs only to the sphere of intuition;—which is not only like looking through a glass, but rather like seeing with the ear or hearing with the hand. And we feel, that this

very effect of such thoughts, as we have now suggested, is a most useful one, and proves, that much as they may seem like mere negation, they tend towards earnest practical piety, at least as much as views like those of the book we now close. They help the cultivation of those powers of spiritual vision and of communion with God in love even here on earth, which will at last mold us entirely, when we shall put off this tabernacle, to that perfect state, in which we shall see face to face, and know even as we are known.

S. N. A.

Art. IV.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

PRAYERS FOR THE FESTIVAL SEASONS.

[The festival prayers take the place of the General Petition preceding the Sermon in the regular service of the Lord's day.]

I. ADVENT.

(CANTICLE.)

Sing unto the Lord a new song; and his praise from the end of the earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein. Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice; let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the tops of the mountains. Let them give glory unto the Lord, and declare His praise among the heathen.

The Lord hath comforted His people; He hath made bare His holy arm in the eyes of all nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

Say to the daughter of Zion, behold, thy salvation cometh; behold his reward is with him, and his work before him. Fear thou not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed; for I am thy

God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee. Unto you, that fear my name, shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings!

The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it. Death shall be swallowed up in victory, and God will wipe away all tears from our eyes. And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for Him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for Him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.

Sanctify and prepare yourselves to look upon the glory of our God; for the Lord cometh. Prepare ye the way of the Lord and make his paths straight; let us serve Him with gladness and come before his presence with singing! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end! Amen.

II. CHRISTMAS.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy; for unto you is born this day, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord!

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men! Unto us a Child is born; unto us a Son is given, and the government is upon his shoulder. And his name is, Wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

God hath remembered his covenant and sent salvation to his people. When the fullness of time had come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. Israel is saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation.

This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it. Behold, now is the accepted time! Behold, now is the day of salvation!

Say among the heathen, that the Lord reigneth. Let the

heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad; for He shall judge the world with righteousness and the people with his truth. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Blessed be the kingdom of our father David! Hosanna in the highest!

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end! Amen.

2.

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, through whose grace we are permitted once more to celebrate the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we approach into thy presence at this time with holy joy, to praise and magnify thy great name for the unspeakable gift of thy Son, who hath brought life and immortality to light. Thou hast visited and redeemed thy people and raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of thy servant David, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. Thou hast gloriously fulfilled thy promises, given to our first parents after the fall, to the patriarchs, to Moses and the prophets, and to all thine ancient people who waited in hope for the salvation of Israel. When the fullness of the time was come, thou didst send forth thy Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons and the inheritance of everlasting life.

Truly great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.

Bestow upon us, O God, a simple, child-like faith, that with the shepherds and the wise men of the East, we may visit the manger of Bethlehem, there to adore the new born King of Israel and offer unto him the tribute of our hearts. Give us grace to behold the glory shining through the veil of his humanity, the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. May Christ indeed be born in us by the power of the Holy Ghost. And as he, in infinite love to us

poor sinners, descended from heaven to earth, and assumed our nature, and became flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, so may we have power to ascend from earth to heaven and to be partakers of his divine nature, to the glory of thy great and adorable name.

Finally, we beseech thee to extend, through thy ministering servants, the good tidings of great joy, which we hear this day and which are for all people, to the uttermost parts of the earth. Let the day spring from on high visit every nation, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide their feet into the way of peace. Hasten the time, when the angel's anthem shall resound over all lands: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

O thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, at this holy season, when thy believing people in all parts of the world are met to celebrate the memory of the Saviour's birth, we too lift up our hearts to thee, and bring thee our humble tribute of praise and thanksgiving.

Thou didst so love the world as to send thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. Thou didst suffer him to be born of the blessed Virgin, to assume our nature, to take upon him our infirmities and bear our sicknesses, to die the cursed death of the cross, that we might live.

O Lord, we joyfully acknowledge and thank thee, that by this birth and this death we attain unto everlasting life and become heirs of thy kingdom. We adore thy name. We praise thy mercy. All the angelic hosts admire thy glorious grace; and, as long as men shall dwell upon the earth, thy praise shall resound, and every tongue shall sing: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and good-will toward men!

Jesus, thou Son of God, we bless thee for becoming flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, and beseech thee, that we may be made partakers of the fruits of thy redemption. Thou, who art the Son of God, the joy and glory of the human race, the

Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us! Thou, who didst descend to earth, and become like one of us in all things, sin only excepted; who didst die and rise again and return to the bosom of the Father, there to prepare mansions of rest for thy people, hear our prayer, and let our songs of praise come up acceptably before thee.

Thou, who didst come to destroy the works of the Devil, deliver us from all our sins and make us able to renounce them. As thou wert born in a manger, and didst lead a life of poverty and sorrow, and humble thyself unto death, even the death of the cross, so may we also have power to despise the vain pomps of this world and strive only after the heavenly glory and eternal felicity, which thou hast purchased for us with thy blood. As thou hast loved us, so also may we love thee, and let nothing separate us from thy love.

O God, because we believe thy dear Son was born to raise us to eternal life, teach us rightly to perceive that by this faith and this hope we are bound to purify ourselves even as he is pure, so that we may worthily celebrate thy praise and enjoy the glory, which is yet to be revealed in us; and when our great Redeemer shall come again, a second time, in the clouds of heaven, with all his holy angels, may we become like him, in the kingdom of his glory, where he lives and reigns, God over all, blessed forever! Amen.

III. NEW YEAR.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.

Thou in the beginning didst create the heaven and the earth, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Thou didst say, Let there be light in the firmament; and didst call forth sun, moon, and stars, that they might be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years.

Lord what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! Or the son of man, that thou makest account of him. Behold thou hast made our days as an handbreadth: and our age is as nothing before thee. Verily every man at his best estate is altogether vanity.

Lord, make us to know our end, and the measure of our days, what it is, that we may know how frail we are, and walk in wisdom, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.

We are strangers with thee and sojourners, as all our fathers were; let thy statutes be our song in the house of our pilgrimage. O comfort us all the days of this vain life, which we spend as a shadow, until our change come.

We give glory unto the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending. We fall at the feet of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who lays his right hand upon us, and says: Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

We shall live because thou livest, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

2.

Almighty God, we adore thee as the eternal and unchangeable Jehovah, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. Unchangeable art thou also in thy promises and gracious dealings with the children of men. Though the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, thy kindness shall not depart from thy people, neither shall the covenant of thy peace be removed. The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him and his righteousness unto children's chil-

dren; to such as keep his covenant and to those that remember his commandments to do them.

What thanks shall we render unto thee our Maker, Preserver, and most bountiful Benefactor, for the innumerable blessings with which thou hast crowned our lives during the past year. With Jacob of old, we must confess: We are not worthy of the least of all the mercies and the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servants. We have broken thy laws and commandments; we have grieved thy Holy Spirit; we have wasted many days, and weeks, and years in the service of the world; and if thou shouldst now enter into judgment with us, we could not stand. But thou, O Lord God, art merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin. We take refuge in the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom thou hast declared thyself well pleased. Lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us, and restore unto us the joy of thy salvation.

And as thou, in thine infinite goodness, hast brought us safely to the beginning of another year, we humbly beseech thee to deliver us not only from the guilt of sin, but also from its power and dominion. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Enable us to put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of our mind, and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. Inspire us with a living sense of the rapid flight of time, the certainty of death and the judgment to come. So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Help us to bear in mind that we are strangers and pilgrims on the earth, and direct our desires to the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. May we seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and lay up for ourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. And as we know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh, give us grace to watch and pray, and to be always ready, having our loins girded and our lights burning, like unto men that wait for their Lord.

Now, heavenly Father, take us, and the whole human family under the wings of thy gracious protection for this new year of our earthly pilgrimage. Prepare us for all its duties, trials and afflictions, that in all these things we may be more than conquerors through Him that loved us. And should this year be our last, grant that we may depart hence with triumphant faith and enter into the mansions of eternal rest and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is the same yesterday, today and forever. Amen.

3.

O Lord, of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. We bring thee blessing, and worship, and praise, on this the first morning of a new year. Thou that art unchangeable, thou that art from everlasting to everlasting, and with whom a thousand years are as one day, to thee be honor and thanksgiving; thine is the strength, the power and the might; thou hast made heaven and earth; thou didst call time, and it began; thou didst establish the foundations of the earth; the day is thine, the night also is thine: thou hast prepared the light and the sun.

Lord, the everlasting and almighty God, before whose majesty and holiness, we poor sinners fear and tremble, thou art also the eternal fountain of mercy, thou art our refuge forever. Thou hast regarded our misery, and caused a new year of grace to dawn upon us, in Jesus Christ, thy Son. Unto thee, the eternal source of all grace, we this day lift up our hearts and our hands, and beseech thee, that thou wouldst cause this new earthly year also to be to us a year of salvation.

We bring ourselves as an offering unto thee this day! Sanctify us by thy Spirit, and let the power of thy grace reign in and over us. In the name of Jesus we begin this year. In him look thou in pity upon us, Father of mercies, and bless and keep us, and guide our feet in the way of peace! May we

to-day, and at all times, understand thy word and lay it to heart; that, when thou shalt call us from this world to thyself, we may close our mortal life in peace, and begin the great new year of Eternity with joy, and come into thy blissful presence; where we shall unite from everlasting to everlasting with angels and saints, in ascribing blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, forever and ever. Amen.

IV. GOOD FRIDAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Christ our passover was offered for us on this day. He was delivered for our offences; He bore our sins in his own body on the tree, and the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all. His soul was sorrowful, even unto death; He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter; He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. He was taken from prison and from judgment; He was cut off out of the land of the living.

Sing praises unto our God and the Lamb, and say: Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us out of every kindred, and tongue, and people and nation; thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor and glory, forever and ever. All creatures which are in heaven, and on the earth, ascribe blessing and honor unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb! Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ. If God be for us, who can be against us. He spared not his only begotten Son, but delivered him up for us all; how shall he not with him also freely give us all things.

Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,

which is, and which was, and which is to come, God over all blessed forever more. Amen.

2.

O Lord Jesus Christ, eternal Son of God, our blessed Redeemer, give us grace, we beseech thee, worthily to celebrate on this day thine unfathomable love to a sinful and guilty world. Thou wast pleased to descend from the throne of thy heavenly glory, to assume our human nature, to be persecuted, denied, betrayed, condemned, and nailed to the cross, that we miserable sinners might be delivered from the curse of the law and escape the just sentence of everlasting damnation. Thou wast wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon thee; and with thy stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on thee the iniquity of us all. Thou, who knew no sin, has been made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in thee. Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, and by one offering hast perfected forever them that are sanctified.

Therefore, with the ten thousand times ten thousand and all the heavenly host of the redeemed, we would unite in saying: Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. We bless thee for all the burdens thou hast borne, for all the tears thou hast wept, for all the pains thou hast suffered, for every drop of blood thou hast shed, for every word of comfort thou hast spoken on the cross, for every conflict with the powers of darkness, and for thine eternal victory over the terrors of death and the pains of hell.

Impress upon us this day, O Lord, a lively sense of the terrible nature of our sin and guilt, which called for so costly a sacrifice, and of the unutterable love of God, who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all. May we hate and abhor sin more than ever, and live hereafter not unto ourselves, but unto him who died for us and rose again. May we

always remember that we are not our own, but bought with a price, and bound to glorify God in our body and in our spirit, which are thine. Give us grace to cleave to thy cross in prosperity and adversity, in the trials and temptations of life, in the agonies of death and in the day of judgment. Make us willing and ready to suffer and to die for thee, who didst die for us, that being partakers of thy sufferings, we may become partakers also of thy glorious resurrection and ascension.

And now unto Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness and the First-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth, unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen.

3.

AN ACT OF HUMILIATION AND PRAISE FOR THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

The Lamb, that was slain, is worthy to receive might, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and praise, and blessing.

[*Congregation:* Amen.]

Cast yourselves down, and bend your hearts before the Lord that hath redeemed us! Unto the Lamb that was slain, give glory! Let us give thanks unto our Lord and Saviour, and say:

Lord Jesus Christ! Thou holy and spotless Son of God, that takest away the sin of the world, we heartily thank thee for thy holy passion, and thy death, for thy sorrow and anguish of heart, for thy pains and wounds, for all that thou didst endure in body and soul. Thou didst come into the world to save sinners; the light shone into darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Thy people Israel, the seed of Abraham, rejected thee; the Scribes and Pharisees blasphemed thee: the Sadducees mocked thee; the High-priest and the Council unjustly condemned thee, the Son of God; the people that yesterday cried unto thee, *Hosannah*, to day cried out, Crucify Him! The heathen Governor declared thine innocence, and

yet delivered thee over into the hands of the unrighteous; thou wast dragged from judgment seat to judgment seat, scourged and beaten, a derision of the people. Thy disciples forsook thee; Judas betrayed thee; thy Peter denied thee. Lo, the sins of the whole world conspired and rose up against thee, and thou didst bear them.

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, Lord, merciful Saviour and Son of Man, thou didst reward hatred with love, cruelty with compassion. Neither malice nor blindness, neither craft nor weakness could make thee swerve from fulfilling the purpose of thy grace. Thou didst willingly deliver up thyself to scorn and reproach; and as a lamb led to the slaughter is dumb, so thou openedest not thy mouth. Upon the disciple that denied thee, thou didst cast a look of sorrowful love; in the very moment, when the multitude demanded thy crucifixion, thou wast resolved to pour out thy blood for their redemption; and even on the cross, thou didst open the gates of Paradise to the malefactor, and pray for thy murderers!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, Lord, eternal only begotten Son of God! Thou didst not look upon the sin of the world like one of us; thou hadst no pleasure in our wickedness. Thou, Eternal Son of the Father, didst not overlook or excuse the rebellion of our race against the Father, and against thee, his anointed, but didst concur in the counsel of eternal justice, that upon sin the wrath and curse of God must rest! But, O Lord, in thee with eternal and inexorable justice hath also appeared everlasting, unfathomable love. Thou didst take the curse of sin, which was due to us, upon thyself. Thou didst endure the agony of soul, which we should have endured. Thou didst tremble in Gethsemane before the strict justice of God, where we should have trembled! Surely thou didst bear our griefs and carry our sorrows!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast manifested all the might and eternal energy of Love, and illustrated the glory of thy Father upon the earth, when thou didst, as our surety, give thyself to

the cross, and didst bear the sins of all mankind, in our stead!

We thank thee that thou didst suffer thyself to be bound, that we might be made free; accused, that we might be made righteous; reviled, that we might come to honor. We thank thee, that thou didst wear the crown of thorns, that we might receive the crown of righteousness. Thou didst suffer thyself to be clothed with purple, that we might be arrayed in the white robe of salvation. Thou, the Prince of Life, didst bow thy head in death, that we, the bond-servants of death, might be raised to life in thee. The penalty was laid on thee, that we might have peace, and through thy wounds we are healed!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, our Saviour and Redeemer! The sins of the world, that brought thee to the cross, also dwelleth in us. Behold, we acknowledge our unrighteousness, and do not cloak our sin before thee. Of the flesh we have inherited corruption; death has passed upon us, because we all have sinned. The folly of the Jewish people, who esteemed not their salvation, dwelleth also in us; we too, by nature, seek not the things which are above, but those things which are upon the earth. The hatred of the high priests and scribes dwelleth also in us; we too hate, by nature, him who speaketh to us the truth. The unbelief of the Sadducees dwelleth also in us; we too, by nature, cling to the things we can see and handle, and despise the invisible truth. The unrighteousness of the heathen governor dwelleth also in us; we too, inquire more after our pleasure and ease, than after the will of thy Father. The covetousness, which led the betrayer to his crime, has its root also in our hearts. The weakness of Peter is our weakness; Lord, how often have we denied thee! O Lord, we confess with deep shame: In all our sins, we have sinned against thee! Ours, even ours is the sin which thou didst bear. Even our sins brought thee to the cross!

[*Congregation:* Have mercy upon us, Lord Jesus.]

Eternal, compassionate High Priest, have mercy upon us! Forgive us our sins for the sake of thy death! Wash us thoroughly from all our uncleanness; let the remembrance of

thy bitter sufferings be ever present to our souls, and let us never forget, how much it cost thee to redeem us. Let a glance at thy cross make us tremble at every sin! Let the blessed assurance, that, through thee our sins are forgiven, kindle in our hearts the flame of love and thankfulness.

O Lord, yet once more, we lift our hands to thee and bless thee, Lord Jesus, for thy death. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. Everlasting adoration and praise be unto thee. Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in unity of essence, livest and reignest true God forevermore.

[*Congregation:* Amen.]

V. EASTER-DAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Christ our Passover has risen. He was dead, and behold he is alive for evermore, and hath the keys of hell and death.

Christ our Passover was dead, a sacrifice for our sins. Therefore we keep the feast no more with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Christ is risen from the dead, and henceforth dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. He died unto sin once, but now he liveth unto God; the Prince of Life could not be holden of death.

God did not leave his soul in the grave, nor suffer his Holy One to see corruption. He was dead, and behold he is alive again, and hath the keys of hell and of death.

Christ is risen, the first fruits of them that slept. Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead; and as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, at his coming.

Death is swallowed up for ever! O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave where is thy victory? Thanks be unto God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Glory be to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the Church that is in Christ, for ever and ever! Amen.

2.

Blessed be God, who, by his mighty power, wrought in Christ, and raised him from the dead!

Thou didst not, O gracious Father! suffer thine Holy One to see corruption; thou didst show him the path of life; thou didst raise up thy Son Jesus; thou didst make him both Lord and Christ; and thou wilt also raise us up from the death of sin, together with him, and make us sit with him in heavenly places.

Blessing and honor, be likewise unto thee, thou Prince of Life, thou that sayest unto us: "I was dead, and behold, I am alive again for evermore, and hold the keys of hell and of death!" Thou art risen, and our faith is not vain; we are no more in our sins, and those who have fallen asleep in thee are not lost; thou art risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them that sleep. Death is swallowed up in victory. O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?

Speak, O risen Lord, by thy Spirit, words of eternal life to our souls, and call unto them: Because I live, ye shall live also, that henceforth, we may not live unto ourselves, but unto thee who didst die and rise again for us. Yea, let the hearts of all that to this hour are sunk in the death of sin, be penetrated by the voice of thine Almighty power, the voice that cries: Awake, thou that sleepest, arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, so that they may now leave their dark grave and as children of light, walk henceforth in newness of life.

O Thou, who art the Resurrection and the Life, make the Holy Supper also of which we shall this day partake, a source of blessing to them who are strong in faith, and to them who are weak, that by means of this spiritual repast all may be stirred up to a daily growth in the divine life.

Endue all that are in authority with wisdom and the fear of thy holy name, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

Give to the churches, which thou hast purchased with thine own blood, shepherds who shall take heed unto themselves, and to the whole flock, and let all teachers hold fast the form of sound words of faith and love which are in Christ Jesus.

Grant unto all parents grace, that they may bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and incline all children to honor their parents, that it may be well with them.

Refresh with thy peace, O Prince of Life, all who are in distress and temptation; have compassion upon all who are wrestling with disease and death; make them living witnesses to the power of thy resurrection, that each may be enabled to say from blessed experience: I know that my Redeemer liveth.

O Lord, our Saviour! when we pass through the valley of the shadow of death, may thy resurrection be to our faith a sure pledge of participation in the unfading inheritance of that eternal life which thou hast prepared for all them that love thy appearing.

O thou God of peace, who hast brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work, to do thy will, working in us that which is well pleasing in thy sight, through Jesus Christ thy beloved Son our Lord; in whose name we say:

Our Father, &c.

VI. ASCENSION DAY.

1

(CANTICLE.)

The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion, and say: Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies! The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedec.

O clap your hands, all ye people. Shout unto God with the voice of triumph! God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with

the sound of a trumpet; Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in! Who is this King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty; he is the King of glory.

Sing praises to God, and unto our King! Sing praises! For he is the King of all the earth; God reigneth over the heathen; he sitteth upon the throne of his holiness. Let all the world bow down before him, and all the angels of God worship him!

Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness; therefore, God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Thou hast ascended on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men. Thou hast entered into thy Father's house, to prepare a mansion for us.

Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died; yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us!

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ our Lord. His is the kingdom and the power and the glory! Amen.

2.

Lift up your hearts unto the heavens, where our Saviour is, and devoutly say:

O Lord, Almighty Father, we call to remembrance this day, that the Lord Jesus, thine only begotten, eternal Son, was taken up in his holy humanity from this world into heaven.

Thou hast exalted him; thou hast given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess, that he is Lord, O heavenly Father, to thy glory.

Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the Father, thou alone sittest at the right hand of the Father. To the elect angels the Father hath indeed given very great and special honor. Thousands of thousands serve Him, and tens of thousands stand

before Him. But to no angel hath God at any time said: Sit thou at my right hand.

Lord Jesus, thou Prince of peace, for thee alone, the everlasting doors have been lifted up. Thy kingdom alone is an everlasting kingdom. Thou alone art the true king of glory. And since thou hast ascended to thy God and to our God, to thy Father and to our Father, and now diest no more, but livest eternally to make intercession for us, surely thou art able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by thee. Yea more: it is thy will, that where thou art, in due time, we may be also; that as we have borne the image of the earthly Adam, we may then also bear the image of the heavenly.

Meanwhile, O Lord, comfort thy sorrowing people here below, and grant that in all our tribulation we may continually ascend to thee, in acts of pious and holy devotion. And as thou hast opened heaven to us by thy bitter passion and death, so keep us, that we may not close this same heaven again, by an impenitent and unthankful life.

Grant Lord, that at thy most certain and glorious second coming at the last day, we may hear the trumpet of thy holy archangel, and have our part in the resurrection of the just. And that we may then be caught up to meet thee, and enter into the heavenly land, and come to Mount Zion, to the city of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, to the Church of the first born, to the spirits of the just made perfect, to thee, the only Mediator of the new covenant, and to God, thy Father and our Father.

Unto thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be thanksgiving, blessing, praise, and honor, now and forevermore. Amen.

3.

Lord Jesus Christ, almighty king of glory, who, by thy triumphant ascension into heaven, hast placed thyself at the right hand of the majesty and power of God, and hast made all thine enemies, sin, death, the devil, hell and the world, thy footstool, how shall we suitably and sufficiently praise and magnify thy great name for this conquest, this victory, this glory?

As a strong God, thou didst go up with a shout, and as the Lord with the sound of a trumpet. Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises. Thou hast ascended up on high, and didst lead captivity captive. Thou hast received gifts for men. Thou art exalted above all angels and principalities, and above all power and might, and above every thing that is named in this world and that which is to come. God has made thee to be the head over thy Church, which is thy body, the fulness of Him, which filleth all in all. Thou art our everlasting, only head, who impartest to all the members of thy body, life and light, comfort, strength, power, victory, peace and joy. Thou art our eternal King, who anointest us with thy Holy Spirit, and hast given to us apostles and prophets and evangelists, pastors and teachers, that thy spiritual body may be built up. Thou hast an everlasting priesthood, and canst save to the uttermost, and wilt hear the prayers of all who come to thee, calling upon thy name. By thy glorious ascension into heaven thou hast pointed to us the way, opened again the gates of paradise, and prepared for us mansions of glory; and as thou our head art now, so are we assured that thou wilt bring us thy members thither also. Thou wilt receive us to thyself, that where thou art, there we may be, and behold thy glory. In the assurance that we shall be with thee, is our saving hope established. To this end thou appearest also as our advocate in the presence of thy heavenly Father, and dost testify that with thine own blood thou hast entered into the holiest, and hast purchased for us eternal redemption and hast brought in an everlasting righteousness.

Draw us to thee, we beseech thee, that we may have our conversation in heaven, in all holy dispositions and desires; and that where our treasure is, there our hearts may be also. Thus may we ever seek the things which are above; not the things which are below; forgetting the things which are behind and reaching to the things which are before, and ever pressing toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Draw us and we will run after thee. Give us the wings of the morning and fill our hearts with heavenly desires that we may fly up to thee. Grant that we may contin-

ually enjoy thy presence, according to thy promise, and finally ascend to thy Father and to our Father, to thy God and to our God, to whom with thee, and the Holy Ghost be glory forever. Amen.

VII. WHITSUNDAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Let us praise the Lord, and exalt his goodness. Let us come before him with songs of praise, and hymns of thanksgiving! God hath raised up his holy child Jesus, who being by his right hand exalted, shed forth the promise of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, so that they spake with new tongues, and wrought signs and wonders in his name.

He gave power to the testimony of his servants. The kingdoms of the earth, the people and nations, have heard his voice, and have rendered obedience unto our Lord and to his Christ.

We render thanks unto thee, O Lord, who art the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, that thou hast revealed thy power, and entered upon thy kingdom.

We praise thee, that, according to thy promise, thou hast sent unto us the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth, that he may abide with us forever. Because we are thy children, thou hast sent the Spirit of thy Son into our hearts, whereby we cry: Abba Father. It is the Spirit, which witnesseth with our spirits, that we are the children of God.

The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, and with groanings which cannot be uttered, maketh intercession for us, who wait for the redemption of our body, and for the manifestation of the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

The Spirit is the earnest and pledge of our inheritance; whereby also we are sealed unto the day of redemption. O Lord, we praise thee, and render thee thanks, that thou hast given us the Spirit.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

2.

O thou Author of peace and Lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life; and whose service is perfect freedom; cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; and give us grace, whereby we may serve thee acceptably, with reverence and with godly fear.

We thank thee for all that thy beloved Son Jesus did, and taught, and suffered. We especially bless thee, at this time, for those gracious words of comfort which he spake in the immediate prospect of the hour and power of darkness. Do thou work in our souls a principle of living faith in Him, that amidst all the sorrows of this mortal life, we may be enabled to place our confidence in thee, and elevate our thoughts and affections to those many mansions in his Father's house, which our exalted Saviour has gone to prepare for his believing people.

O ascended Lord and Saviour Jesus! we thank thee, that having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, thou didst so wonderfully, as on this day, fill thy disciples with the blessed gift, baptizing them with the Holy Ghost and enabling them to go forth, as thy ambassadors to all nations, speaking with new tongues, and proclaiming far and wide, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.

O Holy Spirit! Thou who art true and eternal God, with the Father and the Son; who art also given to us, to make us, by a true faith, partakers of Christ and all his benefits; fulfil in us, we beseech thee, the mission of love, and abide with us forever.

Spirit of light and truth, lead us into all truth, enlighten our minds and expel from them all darkness. Spirit of prayer and supplication, teach us to pray aright, and thou thyself make intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. Spirit of power, assist us by thy might, be with us in our temptations, confirm us continually by thy grace, and evermore draw us towards that which is good.

Spirit of holiness, sanctify our understanding and our heart, purify our affections and enable us to be faithful each one in his calling. Spirit of comfort, our Comforter, abide with us forever; comfort us in all our tribulation, and fill us at all times

with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Spirit of peace, infuse into us the temper of peace, meekness and mutual love.

O Holy Spirit! thou Spirit of God, who didst descend upon the Apostles in cloven tongues like as of fire, and bestow upon them power to proclaim the wonderful works of God; kindle in our hearts the celestial fire of holy thoughts, and fervent prayers; fill us with true zeal to glorify thee and edify our neighbor, by words and deeds which are well pleasing in thy sight!

O God, cast us not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us! Suffer us not to quench, grieve or resist Him. Rather may he dwell in us, as his temple; may he be our guide through this mortal life; so that we may rejoice always in his heavenly consolations, and having finished our course may attain at last to the resurrection of the body, by the Spirit of Christ which dwelleth in us, and be found worthy to enter into thy glory; there to praise Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

Art. V.—DEDICATION OF FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE BY THE REV. H. V. GERHART, PRESIDENT.

The consolidation of Franklin College and Marshall College constitutes a new era in the history of these two Institutions. No other event occurring since they were established, is equally deserving of such distinction; for it introduced a new order of things, giving a new phase and new power to all their educational operations. It was the point of confluence for two homogeneous streams, at which they begin to mingle their waters and pour them down through the valley of time in one deeper, broader, more majestic channel.

Nearly three years have now elapsed since the formal opening of the Institution at Lancaster, was publicly celebrated. During this period its course has been steadily progressive. Unpropitious circumstances, indeed, have not been wanting. The removal of Marshall College, and its union with Franklin College, may be aptly compared to the transplanting of a young tree. It is put into a new soil. It occupies a new position. Some of the roots have been bruised and broken. The nutritive earth has not settled nicely around all the fibres. The north-west wind seems to blow upon it from a different point of the compass. Some of the destructive insects that buzz around it, or fasten on its leaves, or sting its trunk, may be of larger size or infuse a more poisonous venom. A little time is necessary, therefore, to recover from the first effects of a sudden transition, and appropriate, by a vigorous process of assimilation, the superior elements of life from the new, rich soil in which it stands.

Like this has been the experience of the new Institution. The old home was given up; the new home was indeed the ancient abode of education, but still new to her. Old currents of influence and support, were interrupted; new and stronger ones had to be started. Old ties were broken, and the charm of old associations had vanished; new ties were therefore to be formed, and she had to wait on old Time to wave his wand and throw the charm of other associations around her new halls and new grounds. There were warm friends, indeed, in her adopted home, but they were such rather from principle and resolution: she had to be seen, and heard, and handled, that their hearts might become warmer still from affection and interest. Confidence, affection and earnest zeal for her progress on the part of her new guardians, friends and patrons, could not spring up at will or in a moment. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than that the Institution should feel sensibly the effects of the great change. Yet the tree grew. Some of the limbs may have appeared less thrifty, and some of the leaves may have gotten yellow; but it did not die; it lived on—it budded, blossomed and bore fruit in its season, and though the crop may not have been as large as on some

former years, still the fruit was ripe and good. Long may the tree stand and thrive, spreading its branches wider, lifting its top higher, and with each returning summer enriching the State and the land with a golden harvest. May coming generations sit in its shadow and rejoice in its strength; and may the nations of the earth rise up and call it blessed.

To-day we have assembled to inaugurate the first epoch in the history of Franklin and Marshall College. The liberal contributions of Lancaster city and county have purchased these broad, beautiful acres that spread at our feet on either side, and erected this chaste and substantial structure to serve the wants of the Institution. It is becoming to distinguish the day with appropriate ceremonies—to suspend the daily routine of study, recitation and lecture—to turn aside from the ordinary affairs of business—to come together within these walls, to invoke the benediction of the triune God, to reflect seriously upon the great interests of Literature and Science, and to contemplate the intimate relation of Education to the weal or wo of society. It is becoming to set this new edifice apart, solemnly and formally, to the glorious and sacred cause for which it has been erected. For the work to which it is devoted forms the bone and sinew of the State, and gives color to the life-blood of the Church.

Here scores and hundreds of youth will congregate from year to year. They will come from the north and the south, from the east and the west, from the city and the country, from the valleys and the mountains, each one with habits and opinions of his own, modified by the place of his birth and the character of his early companions. They will come from the families of the intelligent and ignorant, of the rich and the poor; some from the proud and ambitious, others from the modest and humble, each one with plans and views of life varying with the atmosphere of the parental fireside. They will come, some with strong and others with feeble minds, some with industrious, simple and moral habits, others with indolent, luxurious and immoral habits; some with noble hearts, calm, bright hopes and a firm will, and others there may be who will lack all the better and purer susceptibilities of our nature. To this spot

they will come as to a common centre, acting and reacting on each other, mind striking against mind, will winning or resisting will, and heart repelling or attracting heart, each one giving an impulse to, and exerting some peculiar influences upon, the life of the community. Some old habits will be laid aside, some old friendships dissolved, some old ties broken; here new habits will be contracted, here new, warm and lasting friendships will spring up, here soul will be bound to soul by ties that neither age nor death can break.

Above, before and in this apparent confusion of moral forces, must be the internal vivifying spirit and the all-embracing atmosphere of the College itself—a strong, general spirit that, working gently, silently, but potently, assimilates to its own nature the various minds and repugnant tendencies that are here brought into contact—a spirit that gives due harmonious direction to the collection of contradictory aspirations and aimless pursuits, and breathes unity and order into the numerous conflicting capacities, faculties and talents of the whole mass of mind—an atmosphere that each student inhales, imparting the life-sustaining oxygen to the blood flowing through the arteries of his immaterial being—an atmosphere that refracts equally all the rays of intellectual light that emanate from the innumerable stars and moons and suns shining upon us, whether dimly or brilliantly, in the sublime, resplendent firmament of Literature and Science. The spirit and atmosphere of the Institution will mould every susceptible mind into some degree of likeness to itself. Each mind will receive a mark, if ardent and impressible, a broad mark, which no friction from the action of will, nor the wear and tear of ruthless time, can ever utterly efface or destroy. From year to year, young men will go forth from these halls, with habits of thought and feeling, with principles of action, whose influence will be traceable through the whole course of their future life, whether they move the plane, or follow the plough, or minister at the bedside, or plead at the bar, or officiate at the altar.

With what intense interest will not, therefore, every reflecting, conscientious father, and every tender, affectionate mother, turn their eyes to this spot, and follow in imagination the

daily movements and progress of a beloved son. The chords struck here do not only resound in our ears, but they extend their vibrations even to thousands of warm responsive hearts scattered over our land. The name, and honor, and joy of the distant family, is wrapped up with the work of the College—with the influences concentrated in this edifice. Every family is directly affected by the intellectual process going forward here. Nor is it unknown nor unfelt. Hither many anxious thoughts wander, in the morning as soon as the eye opens upon the light of day, or at evening, when a book, a vacant chair, or a daguerreotype, reminds the fond parental heart of an absent son, or during the quiet solemn hours of midnight when a painful dream has driven sleep far, far away. O how many earnest prayers mingled with tears, go up, and will go up, to the Throne of God, for special protection, guidance and blessing, in behalf of those who shall be collected in this building.

With what deep concern should not also the community in general, look upon this centre of moral influences. Men will go forth from these classic shades to enter and labor in all the vocations of life. The State will receeive some of her Legislators, Judges and various other office-holders from these halls. Public sentiment, than which no human agency is more powerful in its bearing upon the welfare of society, will be measurably determined by the nature and spirit of the instructions imparted in this College. The Church, too, will be vitally affected. Many of her Ministers, office-bearers and laymen, are to be trained here. She will feel the power of her literary institutions in the general spirit pervading her ministry, in the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, in the tone of thought and feeling regulating the action of the various members of her mystical body. Neither Church nor State can be indifferent to the kind of power put forth by such an Institution—can be indifferent to the use to which this costly structure shall be devoted for years and scores of years to come.

How many vital interests cluster around this new edifice! How solemn the work to be performed here from one decade of years to another! How far-reaching and inflexible its influence!

In the name of the Board of Trustees and the Faculty, in the name of every family whose happiness is linked with the transactions of to-day, in the name of the community and the State, and in the name of the Church of Jesus Christ, we do therefore dedicate this building, solemnly and forever, to sound Learning, to profound, liberal, comprehensive and true Science, to the spirit of refinement and of general social culture, to the fair genius of private, and public virtue, to the sacred cause of honor, truth and religion, and to the highest interests of the community and the State, the nation, the Church and the world. Let it stand, the object of sincere affection and unchangeable regard, to elevate, dignify and purify man in all the relations of life, and bring glory to God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, throughout countless generations yet unborn.

ADDRESS OF EMLEN FRANKLIN, ESQ.

The condition of the general intelligence around us has so obvious and powerful an effect upon our own individual comfort and happiness, that any great movement in its behalf produces in us a spontaneous interest and regard. We all feel, that if every man and every woman in the community could be induced to seize, with an abiding zeal, upon all the means of knowledge within their reach, if they would diligently appropriate all the materials for mental improvement which surrounding circumstances have placed in their daily pathway, the pleasure of social intercourse would be vastly enhanced, many unfortunate distinctions would be obliterated, and the general aspect of society would be greatly improved. If, in addition to this, each individual would, with honest heart and pure intentions, conscientiously endeavor to make such mental acquisitions conducive to the welfare of his friends, his family, and his race, according to the measure of his abilities and the influence of his position, how many miseries would be abolished, how much the area of general happiness would be enlarged, and the dignity of existence exalted!

Many a philanthropic heart has throbbed with the desire—many a fond schemer has labored with the hope of assisting in

the accomplishment of such a result. But the attainment of a state of universal mental and moral excellence, realizing this ideal standard, is practically impossible. We are glad to believe that the *wish to know* is innate to every mind. But the desire of eminent mental culture is not *generally* so strong a feeling of our nature as to successfully resist and overcome the force of adverse circumstances. It lives a spark in every human breast, which constant food and care will cherish to a bright and steady flame, but whose frail existence is endangered by the presence of many enemies, banded together for its destruction. Indolence chills it with its cold and noisome breath; unpropitious fate smothers it beneath a weight of cares; and despair finally extinguishes the sacred fire. The difficulties in the way of the attainment of knowledge are obvious, palpable; while its rewards are slow, distant and indistinct; consequently, the lower men are in the scale of intelligence, the less is the value they assign to it; and it is precisely those to whom it is the greatest need, whom it is most difficult to convince of their necessitous condition. Thus a great portion of mankind remain careless, or become desponding; and are content to bury their *one* talent in the earth, because it is but one, instead of being stimulated by the smallness of their possession to that exertion which is necessary to increase their store.

Moreover, moral improvement does not *always* keep pace with the development of mind, nor is the possession of eminent mental attainments, *always* accompanied by the determination to dedicate them to the welfare and benefit of mankind. Each one of us, within the limits of his own observation, may recall instances in which he has seen noble talents and acquirements prostituted to the basest and most ignoble ends, and beyond and above our own limited experiences, history has recorded many melancholy lessons to the same effect. It is an unnecessary, as it would be an unpleasant task, to linger long over examples of historical characters, blessed with every attribute of genius and learning, who not only refused to employ their splendid faculties for the advancement of the general welfare, but who seemed actuated by an insane desire to de-

tract from the happiness and deepen the degradation of human nature. Yet, perhaps, it is fit to pause for a moment over the character of one, whose existence discloses to our view, a more vivid picture of mental excellence, combined with moral depravity, than the imagination could have conceived. To know that men have lived, who, from evil passions, culpable ambition, or other unworthy motives, have carried fire and sword, misery and desolation, over smiling countries and happy nations, is melancholy indeed. But the heart trembles with a deeper and more instinctive horror, in approaching one, who, in the calm retirement of a private station, amid the placid influences of a literary life, could meditate an attack on public virtue and happiness, plan a vast conspiracy against the well being of mankind, and devote the energies of a long life, and a Herculean mind, to the monstrous enterprise. Yet such was Voltaire. Endowed with the most consummate natural abilities, with remarkable powers of wit and sarcasm, and with these natural advantages adorned by an assiduous mental culture, and extensive stores of learning, Voltaire was fitted to exert a vast and durable influence over the minds of men. He *might* have secured a proud position in the temple of fame. He *might* have won a name illustrious as the benefactor of his race. But instead of a *blessing* he preferred to be a *curse*. Evil seemed to be his good, and good his evil. He scorned and despised human nature; he hated his fellow men with a malignant hatred; and the sole purpose of his life appeared to be, to wage an unceasing war against the best interests of mankind. He labored to prove that private or public virtue had no existence. He undertook to destroy Christianity; and he endeavored to root out from the regard and respect of mankind all that is endearing and lovely in human nature, everything that could make life desirable, or the thought of death endurable. Himself the fittest exemplar of the doctrines he inculcated, he struggled to pull down the world to the level of his own depravity, and he wielded his powers with such terrible energy as to partially produce that effect. To him, and the band of conspirators of which he was the creator and acknowledged chief, are in a great measure to be attributed

the iniquities which preceded, and the crimes and miseries which attended the progress of the French Revolution; and the seeds of evil then sown broadcast over the world, will, perhaps, continue to germinate and fructify for ages yet to come. With unflagging zeal Voltaire continued to prosecute his fell purpose during a career of more than ordinary duration, to its final close. But in the dread hour of his own dissolution, that distorted reason which was his boast and pride, deserted him in the crisis of his need, flying before the stronger powers of an outraged conscience; and the story of the terrors of that bed of death, long concealed and suppressed, but at length given to the world, furnishes the most complete and eloquent vindication of the eternal truths which he vainly labored to destroy.

In addition to other individual examples of similar character, history furnishes us a singular instance of a *system* of mental culture, whose effects upon human happiness were, if not unfavorable, at least positively barren. I refer to what is popularly known as the scholastic philosophy of the middle ages. It would be going entirely beyond the limits of the present occasion to enter upon an examination of the fundamental principles of this system, and an exposure of its radical defects. Its results to the cause of true wisdom, its influence upon civilization and general progress, are the only objects which demand our present attention. For many centuries it held undisputed sway over the literary world, and was the single channel through which flowed the genius, wit, and learning of the age. It was an era characterized by great mental activity, and illustrated by some eminent names in the records of literature. But such were the baneful and confining influences of the system, that, in all that long period, hardly one valuable truth, scarcely one permanent law of animate or inanimate nature, owed its discovery and application to the purposes of mankind, to the founders or the followers of this scholastic philosophy. It was a tree prodigal of foliage, but barren of fruit. Immured within the secluded walls of the cloister, its disciples there enjoyed a monopoly of the knowledge then possessed by the world, and long successfully endeavored to

prevent its rays from spreading beyond the same narrow limits. And being thus separated in a measure from communion with their fellow creatures, they felt no sympathy with their wants and necessities, and esteemed it beneath the dignity of learning to cause it to minister to the physical or political good of man. Busied from first to last, with subjects which had not the remotest connection with the discovery of useful truth, or the advancement of the general welfare, they exhausted great erudition and the most admirable dialectical skill in their investigations, and have left, as the monument of their labors, a vast pile of discussion and angry controversy, which has subserved no other useful purpose, but to exhibit at the same time, the greatness and the littleness of the human intellect. If, instead of spending lives of toil, and filling ponderous tomes with disquisitions on topics without substance or profit, these representatives of the learning of the age, had given but a portion of that labor to the investigation of the social and political evils which then oppressed the nations, and the extension of the dominion of man over the forces of nature, the greatest reproach that has ever fallen upon the cause of learning would have been avoided, and the world would have been much further advanced in its onward march of civilization and happiness.

In their hands knowledge appeared as a beauteous princess, suffering under the spell of a cruel necromancy. Snatched away from the enjoyment of the homage and devotion of her loyal subjects, and locked in an enchanted castle, whose gates, barred by a magic charm, remained impassible to human steps, and only opened at the waiving of the magician's wand; with her fair form changed to some monstrous shape, and her very nature altered by the power of the charm, helpless and powerless, her only resource was to bewail her captivity, and pray for the coming of the gallant knight whose prowess was fated to deliver her from her hated thrall. Long and dreary were the years of her oppression. But at length the destined champion appeared, armed with a more potent spell. With a blast of his charmed trumpet he summoned the oppressor to the combat, and at the sound the castle tottered to its founda-

tions, and the spell bound gates flew open. With sword and battle axe he felled the dread magician to the earth, and led forth the ransomed captive, amid the acclamations of her joyous people, and arrayed in all her pristine loveliness, to her proper throne.

To Francis Bacon, more than any other name, is the world indebted for its complete escape from the trammels of this dreary philosophy. His genius first detected and demonstrated its utter worthlessness for the discovery of new truth. He showed it to be merely a repository of old knowledge, not a nursery of new; and he condemned it as turning to a stagnant water, what should always remain a living spring. He proclaimed that the only test of the purity of the motive for acquiring knowledge, and of the value of knowledge when acquired, was the production of works for the benefit and use of man; and that as the old philosophy had proved itself inapplicable to such purposes, it was necessary to build up a new system of knowledge, laid on other foundations and raised with different materials. In our day it requires no argument to enforce such plain principles. The mere statement of the proposition carries conviction with it. But in that era of comparative darkness and prejudice, it required a long and arduous struggle with its adherents, to accomplish the destruction of the old fabric, and the institution of a new philosophy, adapted to inquiries into the hidden truths and universal laws of nature. But Bacon's final victory was complete; and under the stimulus of his doctrines and new methods of investigation, human inquiry was at length directed into an entirely new channel. Old subjects of dispute and discussion were dropped as unworthy of attention; and "with a strong persuasion that the whole world was full of secrets, of high moment to the happiness of man," the disciples of the new philosophy applied themselves zealously to the task of their discovery. From that moment only can science be said to have had a true existence; and the long array of blessings which has followed in her train, is the legitimate result of the revolution in philosophy accomplished by Lord Bacon. Others who preceded him may have assisted in the good work by crippling its de-

fences and weakening its foundations; but to him we owe the complete demolition of the edifice, where knowledge drooped, a pining captive in a gloomy prison, and the construction of a new and majestic temple, where she now sits, a crowned queen upon a glorious throne.

The contemplation of this beneficial revolution in the history of learning, naturally inclines us to hasten to the brighter aspects of the picture, upon whose darker colors we have thus bestowed a glance. These require no close examination for their detection, no studied explanation for their appreciation. The beauties of the scene lie patent to the eye, and steal spontaneously to the heart of the most careless observer. In truth we have been but watching the shadows, which ever and anon, flit across the surface of the landscape, while beneath our eyes extends a succession of gorgeous woodlands, flowing streams and waving fields of grain, clad in all the splendors of a fertile beauty, and smiling in the radiance of a summer sun.

No man at this day ventures to discourage efforts for the wider diffusion of the higher branches of knowledge, because universal education is impracticable. All human attempts and aspirations are mere approximations to ideal standards of excellence. In no department of exertion is absolute perfection attainable. In every direction, man is constantly approaching but never reaches the perfect standard; but to cease all efforts thereto, for this reason, would be to put a stop to human progress in every quarter. It is our destiny to struggle upward, upward, on an endless and limitless ascent, but from the high places of the mountains, as well as in the lowly valleys at their base, resounds the same incessant cry, which is the natural utterance of aspiring humanity—"Excelsior."

To the pioneers and early advocates of the cause of general education, the prospect might well appear discouraging, and the difficulties insuperable. Even partial success must have appeared chimerical to all but the most enthusiastic minds. But to us who witness what has already been effected, who have seen the giant strides which society has made in this respect since the first faint impulses were communicated, no project seems too extensive or visionary for accomplishment, no

limits too distant or comprehensive to be reached. Every year adds to the number of the means and instruments for the more general development of mind. Every succeeding generation increases the proportion of those, for whom fortune and favorable circumstances have placed those means within easy reach; and each generation multiplies the number of those resolute souls, whose fortitude no difficulties can conquer, whose ardor no despondency can abate, but who successfully struggle upward against the pressure of an untoward fate, to the highest eminences of the realm of mind; not only realizing their own highest aspirations, but illuminating by the brightness of their example, the darkened footsteps of others following in the same paths. From the operation of these happy influences, and their tripple reaction upon each other, the obstacles in the way of the acquirement of knowledge have been rendered so much less formidable, and the determination to overcome them so much more prevalent, that the ranks of intelligent and educated men now embrace a very large proportion of the members of every civilized community. When we reflect that but two centuries ago, the masses of mankind were shut out from even the first rudiments of knowledge, and when we consider that now, in our own favored land at least, a fair degree of education and intelligence is the general rule, and entire ignorance the rare exception, what golden visions may we not indulge in for the immediate future; how can we resist or refuse an interest in that spirit of progress, which, pressing forward far beyond these limits, now directs its efforts to the establishment of institutions, which will convey opportunities for the highest mental culture within the reach of all. In no field of philanthropic enterprise, does labor offer so rich or so certain prospects of reward as in this. In many of the forms in which the progressive spirit of the present age manifests itself, the pleasure of the work is alloyed by the uncertainty of success or the ambiguity of its results, whether for good or evil. But in cherishing *this* interest; in fostering and encouraging progress in *this* direction, we may enjoy the assurance, which is a source of the highest gratification to a benevolent mind, that any measure of influence exerted or labor

expended in this behalf, however small or great, will inevitably yield a proportionate return of benefits and advantages to humanity.

That the interests of learning are identical with the best interests of mankind, is no longer a subject of dispute. We cannot look around us in our daily walk—we cannot open the records of time, without being impressed with the evidence of these truths; that "the world is a vast theatre constituted for exertion; in which enjoyment is the natural consequence of industry, morality and intelligence; and suffering, that of ignorance and sloth;" and that in its history the gradual enlargement and *diffusion* of the mass of knowledge, has been steadily followed by an increase and expansion of human happiness. The ages of general ignorance have been the ages of general depravity, misery and oppression; while the age of general intelligence and education is also the age of public virtue, security and felicity. Indeed, until within a comparatively recent period, the history of modern nations presents us nothing but a dismal picture of human folly, wretchedness and crime; an almost unbroken record of war, rapine, disorder and desolation, from the contemplation of which we turn with a disgust hardly mitigated by the splendid careers of the heroes, statesmen and patriots, with which its pages are emblazoned. But the era of the revival of learning was like the dawning of a new day upon the world. The dark cloud which overhung the whole aspect of human affairs, fled before the brightness of that morning sun. With every ray that pierced the misty veil, some common evil was dissipated, some common blessing was unfolded; and from the time that, mounting towards the zenith, the full splendor of its beams shone forth, history becomes the chronicle of a different order of events. Inspired with new emotions of pleasure and delight, we trace upon its glowing pages the development of the idea of the common brotherhood of humanity, and a consequent perception of the blessings of peace and commercial intercourse; the birth and growth of liberty; the first emergence, the struggles and the establishment of the doctrine of natural rights; and the subjection of the laws of matter to the dominion and control of

man ; yoking them one by one to his triumphal car, as the servants of his pleasure and the ministers to his prosperity ; until he finally appears as a new being, clothed with higher attributes of power, and increased capacities for happiness.

All the sons of men within the limits of the civilized world are, in some measure, participants in these beneficent results. And this universality of the blessing is attributable, in a great degree, to the two-fold influence which mental culture exerts upon individual character. It not only adds a charm to the existence of its recipient, by enlarging his command over physical comforts, and opening new sources of enjoyment in intellectual pleasures; but it reflects these advantages upon the world at large, by impressing him with the *will*, as well as the power, to advance the welfare of his fellow-men. Mental excellence is generally illustrated and ennobled by a philanthropic spirit. That spirit stimulates the labors of the votary of science in his laboratory, the artist in his studio, the man of letters in his closet. And although the annals of learning supply us with many instances to the contrary, some of which have engaged our momentary attention ; yet on the other hand, the long and brilliant array of names, illustrious in all the departments of science, art and literature, who have sought the highest reward of a life of benevolent labor, in the legacy of benefits which they have bequeathed to posterity, evinces the almost universal application of the principle, that benevolence and the desire of an honorable fame are the natural consequences of the development of mind. In the great and perpetual conflict between good and evil, of which the world is the battle ground, the forces of knowledge are irrevocably enlisted in behalf of the general welfare. Some of her disciples have viewed the contest with indifference; others have deserted the good cause and endeavored to betray it into the hands of its enemies ; but the great body of her followers compose a vast army, which has constantly borne forward its standard, and marched from victory to victory over the enemies of the rights, the liberties and the happiness of mankind.

I have thus endeavored to represent the *popularization*, if I may so term it, of intelligence, as the great lever of material

progress and social improvement. To give prominence to the idea that it is not the mere possession of a greater amount of scientific truth, but it is the application of that truth to practical purposes and the number of minds to which it has penetrated; it is, in fine, the dissolution of the old exclusive priesthood of learning, and the diffusion of its essence through the whole current of common life and every day affairs, which marks the superiority of the present age, and gives life in the nineteenth century a dignity and glory which it never before attained. It is not the simple passage of the Nile across the plains of Egypt, as it carries its turbid stream along its proper channel to the unfathomable sea, which constitutes it the praise and blessing of the land. But, when swollen with its annual flood, it rolls along its vast volume of waters, laden with the seeds of life and sources of fertility, and bursting from its narrow banks, pours its rich tide over the parched and burning soil; then it is that its genial influences are manifested in the conversion of those desert sands into a glad succession of smiling meadows and cultivated fields. So the flood of knowledge, breaking forth from its ancient channel, and spreading over the whole surface of the mental world, has changed the blank desert of human existence into a fair garden, blooming in its beauty and plentiful in its fruitfulness.

I am confident that this attempt, however humble and imperfect in its character, will not be deemed inappropriate to the present occasion, upon which we have assembled to celebrate the final installation in our midst of a new institution of learning. My theme points, with unerring certainty, to an increase of the opportunities of *thorough* collegiate instruction, as the end to which a truly philanthropic spirit of progress should direct its efforts. As an instrument, therefore, which promises to exert a powerful influence for the further diffusion of intelligence through the mind of the rising generation, and for the transmission of its blessings with increased lustre to posterity, I congratulate the community on the final establishment of Franklin and Marshall College. It is not as an addition of one more to the numerous colleges of the State that the opening of these spacious halls deserves our countenance

and regard. The multiplication of colleges is a very different thing from that increase of the opportunities of thorough collegiate instruction which the wants and requirements of the times demand. The building up of so many petty colleges throughout the limits of Pennsylvania has been a positive drawback to the development of its intellectual resources in their highest character. Without adequate means for the employment of a competent body of accomplished teachers, or for the acquisition of the apparatus necessary for a thorough instruction, they drag out at best a languishing existence, filling rather, under the dignified name of colleges, the office of academies, for the tuition of the youth of the immediate communities in which they are located. By their very number they have prevented any one of them from acquiring that wide spread respect and confidence which are essential to the support of a great institution of learning, thus dissipating resources, which, if concentrated, would have sufficed for the permanent establishment of one institution, which could make a decided impression upon the age, and give a distinctive character to the mental cultre of Pennsylvania. It is because Franklin and Marshall College affords a fair prospect of accomplishing this centralization, of concentrating in some degree upon itself these resources, now scattered, and isolated, and of attracting the support and affection of the great body of the citizens of the Commonwealth, that this occasion claims our special interest and favor. Apart from the present energetic and efficient administration of its affairs, the fundamental idea upon which the whole structure rests united with the advantages of its location, give promise of the realization of this high destiny. If ever the generic mind of Pennsylvania, is to acquire a healthy, vigorous and complete development, *it must be* by a mode of culture peculiar to itself, and corresponding with the origin and special characteristics of our population. In the colleges of New England, we see an order of education which harmonizes with, and reflects in every respect, the origin, the habits of thought, and the constitutional characteristics of the people of New England. And for this reason they have gained a support, and consequent

influence and celebrity, superior to any others in this country. But, though the effects of their order of education upon the general intelligence of those states, is such as upon comparison with ourselves, to call a blush upon the cheek of a Pennsylvanian; yet it is not by a slavish imitation of their methods that our marked inferiority can be overcome. That mode of culture, exactly followed here, as it has generally been, will never succeed in developing to their highest point the intellectual resources of Pennsylvania. Any institution which aspires to the high place of being the leader and exponent of that development, must exhibit in its own organization, the constitutional differences which distinguish our population from that of other States of the Union. Our Commonwealth, is pre-eminently a German State. It is stamped in every part with the impress of the German character of its people. So great a proportion of its citizens is of German descent, so large a part of its fertile territory and personal wealth is in German hands, that their national characteristics and habits of thought have exercised a preponderating influence on its public and social character and conduct. Any order of education, therefore, which takes no account of this peculiarity in our condition, which ignores the existence of this element, is not the proper order for Pennsylvania. The stubborn prejudices of our German citizens against the cause of education, have been notorious, and the fact that to their mental lethargy has been justly attributed the failure of Pennsylvania to keep up with her sister States in the race of intelligence, not only exhibits the extent of their influence upon her position and character, but proves the necessity of appealing to their peculiar interests and affections, in order to achieve eminent success in any movement in the cause of mental culture which is intended to effect the whole State. It is well ascertained that those prejudices are fast disappearing, and that the German mind in our midst is becoming every day more and more awakened to the necessity and advantages of Knowledge; and the great desideratum now is, the establishment of some noble institution of learning, in whose halls that element may feel perfectly at home; which, acknowledging a congenial sympathy, and har-

monizing its mode of culture, with their characteristics and habits of thought, may atttract their general confidence and affection, and which, at the same time, by the munificence of its endowment, and the greatness of its capacity for instruction, will be equal to the duty of dispensing the highest mental culture to the numbers, which that general regard and confidence will gather to its bosom. It requires nothing but the proper tribute from the overflowing wealth of Lancaster City and County, nothing but the exercise of an encouraging liberality on the part of our citizens, to enable Franklin and Marshall College to reach this high position, and fulfil this noble duty. It is formed by the union of two corporations, which have always maintained an intimate connection and relation with this German element. By the terms of the charter of Franklin College, its funds were expressly devoted to serving the cause of learning among the German part of our population. Marshall College, in the twenty years of its existence, had already gained a strong foothold in their affections and confidence; by adapting its instruction to their peculiar genius, and faithfully devoting its energies to the awakening of their slumbering mental power. Ushered into existence, therefore, with such antecedents, the new College appeals to the same element for support, and stands pledged to pursue the same ends and devote its energies to the same purposes. By the constitution and complexion of its faculty, by its public promise "to maintain a lively communication with the literature and science, the philosophy and religion of Germany," and by the reigning spirit of its culture, it redeems those pledges, and now presents itself to the State as the representative and exponent of an order of education which is the only one calculated to develop its capabilities in their best form. The local advantages of its situation are also eminent. Easy of access from all quarters by great high-ways of travel, healthy in its climate, with all the conveniences of life largely and cheaply supplied, and possessing a rare combination of the benefits of city life with the delights of rural scenery in its most beautiful and fertile forms, the mere geographical position of the College is superior to that of any other in the State. But it is with

reference to the peculiar character of the Institution that those advantages are most conspicuous. Situated in the heart of a pre-eminently German county, the industry and enterprise of whose population, their stern integrity of life and homely virtues, combined with their prosperity and abundant wealth, have made it the chief seat and centre of the German influence of the State, the College is thus placed on an eminence which cannot fail to attract the gaze and fasten the attention of the whole German population of America.

These are some of the elements of success which make the dedication of these Halls, in which Franklin and Marshall College will henceforth pursue the purposes of its mission, an occasion *full* of high hope and promise. A distinguished friend of and laborer in the cause of education, Bishop Potter, has expressed the opinion, that if we could blend the deep and comprehensive thought, the speculative research and liberal enthusiasm of Germany, with the active practical energy and the indomitable enterprise of the American character, we might inaugurate a form of culture nobler and more beneficent than the world has yet seen. This is the special object and purpose of the new College, and this peculiarity of its mission, therefore, far from impairing its general usefulness, only ennobles the form of culture which it is prepared to confer upon all classes of our fellow citizens. And if it achieves complete success in this high mission, we may expect to witness such effects upon both individual and State character, as will draw to it the eyes of the whole nation, and render it one of the greatest and most influential institutions in the land.

With such magnificent results within the boundaries of our vision, every feeling of philanthropy, every impulse of State and County pride forbid us to permit the experiment to languish or fail for want of material encouragement and support. Its success will redound largely to the honor and credit of our City and County, to the diffusion of a taste for learning in our midst, to the exaltation of the tone of our society, and the advancement of its material prosperity. To what benevolent object, then, can the superabundance of its wealth be applied, which, in the pleasing perception of its beneficial operation, will

render a larger or more gratifying return? What nobler or more enduring fame can any one desire, than that of being a chief instrument in the accomplishment of such a destiny as is here promised? No one can hope to enshrine his name in a more splendid monument, than this living one, which, by continuing to confer blessings upon humanity, will perpetuate the memory of its builders, in the grateful recollections of coming generations. Private endowments and bequests to colleges are said to be things unknown in our State. But may we not with justice suppose, that this is owing to the fact that we have had no institution which from its wide sphere of influence and prospects of extended usefulness, seemed to be a worthy recipient of an enlarged and liberal bounty? And may we not expect that now, when a fitting opportunity presents itself, our wealthy citizens will come to the assistance of a college, which, with such efficient aid, cannot fail to become one of the leading institutions of the country! With the earnest hope that such just expectations may be realized, and with these visions of future grandeur floating around us, and consecrating this occasion, I again congratulate the community on their new possession, and recommend it to the ardent support and good will of every one before me, who cherishes in his bosom one spark of patriotic State or County pride.

VI.—THE CHURCH YEAR.

THE idea of a sacred or ecclesiastical year is not something peculiar to any particular people or time. It grows forth naturally from the religious constitution of man, and reveals itself spontaneously in his religious history, among all nations and through all ages. Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, show themselves here of one mind and feeling. All alike seek to

link themselves in this way with the course of nature, by bringing it into standing connection with the high sphere of religion under their own several forms. The only difference is in the order and quality of the spiritual conceptions, with which they are severally occupied and employed. These, as they may be of a higher or lower grade, condition necessarily the way, in which the idea in question may be reduced to practice. But the idea itself is of universal authority and force; and if, in any case, it be hindered from coming into view, it must always be with some measure of violent restraint put upon the religious life of the communities in which such exception may prevail. The unnatural and artificial here have place, not in seeking to join the solemnities of religion in this way with the circling course of the year, but in affecting rather to dispense with all such conjunction as something superfluous and vain.

The general ground of this is easily explained. It lies in the close necessary connection, which holds universally between the spiritual life of man and the constitution of nature. Two worlds, two different orders or spheres of existence, are joined together in man's person. He is composed of body and spirit. In virtue of his spirit, he is above the whole system of mere nature, and beyond it, possesses in himself a life which is no product or continuation simply of its powers, but the result of a new and higher principle; and looks to his ultimate destination in an order of things, to which plainly it is intended to minister only as a scheme of transient preliminary preparation. On the other hand, however, he is just as truly and really, for the present, comprehended by means of his body in this same system of nature, as the very home of his being. Its entire organization comes to its last sense, completes itself in his person. The material creation culminates in man, as the point towards which all its powers struggle from the beginning, and whose presence alone serves finally to impress upon its manifold parts the unity, roundness, and symmetry of a common whole. He is thus the highest and most perfect birth of nature, the full efflorescence of its inmost life. Its powers reach him, and affect him, on every side. In this way his whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is rooted in the natural

world around him, and conditioned by it continually, from the cradle to the grave. For the two parts of his being, spirit and matter, mind and body, are not united in a merely outward and mechanical way. They flow together in the constitution of a single life. Hence the material organization underlies the spiritual throughout, supports it, enters into it, determines more or less its entire form and complexion. Mind, in the case of man, is never a power wholly abstract and free from matter; it is always, in a most important sense, derived from and dependent upon the body. The true relation between the two, requires, indeed, that this last should be ruled by the first, as the higher power; that the material organization should be in the end so taken up by the spiritual, as to pass, in some sense, over to this out of its own sphere; that the body should be glorified into full harmony with the superior nature of the soul. But still, with all this, the soul can never free itself absolutely from the power of the body. Such is the law of humanity. However it may be with other intelligences, *man* is made up of both matter and spirit. His whole being is conditioned by the natural basis, in which it starts, and from which it continues ever afterwards to grow; just as the plant which blooms towards heaven, draws the quality of its leaves and flowers at the same time from the soil that secretly gives nourishment to its roots. Primarily and immediately, this natural basis, for every man, is his own body. But as we have just seen, the human body is no separate and isolated existence in the world of nature. The world of nature is a system, a single grand whole, bound together in all its parts, and looking from all sides towards a common centre; and this centre is precisely man himself, in his material organization. To be dependent on the body then, is to be dependent also through this on the general system or constitution in which it is thus centrally comprehended. Mind modified and conditioned by its union with the body, is in fact necessarily also mind modified and conditioned, in its universal existence, by the whole world of nature to which the body belongs. Man stands in sympathy and correspondence with the material universe on all sides. It acts upon him continually through

all his senses. It gives form to his affections and color to his thoughts. In his highest flights of intelligence, he owns still its authority and presence. It surrounds and pervades his spirit at every point, and forms the very element in which he lives, moves, and has his being.

Such is the general law of correspondence between the inward and outward sides of our existence in the present world, between the higher life of the soul in man and his lower life in the body. We feel the force of it every hour, in the influence which is exercised over us by the forms of nature as they surround us in space. Skies, mountains, seas, plains, forests, rivers, enter into us, and become part of our spiritual being. All natural scenery, in one word, is educational. Our interior life is conditioned by it in every stage of its development. Our thinking and feeling, from first to last, owe to it a large part of their peculiar character and form. And what is thus true of nature as a system existing in space, is no less true of nature as a system existing in the continual flow of time. The changes, movements, revolutions, and periods, through which the world is continually passing, connect themselves with the economy of our inward being, no less really than the material objects which are perpetually subject to their law. Days, months, years, and cycles of years, carry with them a plastic educational force for the human spirit, full as profound and far reaching, to say the least, as any that is exercised over it by seas, plains, mountains, and skies. Indeed of these two forms of nature, existence in space and existence in time, it would seem that the last here must be allowed even to surpass the first in power. It lies nearer to the soul, and holds more direct affinity with its spiritual constitution. It is by the sense of movement in the way of time especially, that the more outward sense of matter in space is etherialized and made to enter into the service of intelligence and mind.

Our whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is continually influenced in the most powerful manner by the course of nature, as thus measured by periods and seasons. We feel it in the succession of day and night. This is for us no merely outward index of time. It marks a law of regular revolution

in our life, which corresponds in full with what goes forward in the world around us. The force of this law shows itself in our souls as well as in our bodies, in the activities of our mind no less than in the pulsations of our heart. Day is the time for action, night for sleep. There are strong sympathies in us also with particular hours. We make inwardly the circuit of morning, noon, and evening. Midnight constitutes a crisis for our universal being. Diseases come and go, have their remissions and intermissions, at certain points of the orbit. Good health and sound understanding alike depend on proper conformity with the order, which God has been pleased thus to establish for us in the general constitution of the natural world. So too the revolutions of the moon have their effect upon our life, as well as upon the growth of plants or the ebb and flow of tides. And still more the grand period which is accomplished by the revolution of the earth round the sun. The year, with its four seasons, makes its full circle continually in man himself, as really as in the world around him. Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, repeat themselves perpetually in the onward movement of his existence. Clouds and sunshine, all atmospherical changes, all the varying phases of nature, are mirrored in his consciousness and responded to by his inmost sensibilities, in the order of the rolling months. His existence is not just a continuous line in one and the same direction. It proceeds by cycles that are always returning upon themselves. It is made up of years, which repeat themselves with perpetual recurrence in the progress of his experience, ever the same and yet ever new, from infancy to youth, from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age. The Year, it has been well remarked, is the most perfect and complete measure of time belonging to the earth. It is not merely a full revolution for itself in which the end comes back to the beginning, but it forms also a distinct whole in the organic process of all terrestrial life. In many cases this begins and ends with the annual circle; and where that is not the case, the circle marks at least a full round period in the process, which may very fairly be taken as an apt representation and image of the whole. Each single year forms for every

man a significant epitome, first of the several ages of his life, and then of his life itself in full. Nothing is more natural, as nothing is more common, than the sense of this analogy. And thus it is, that all the world over men are led to look upon the year as the type and symbol of their universal existence upon the earth, and under such view seek to make it the vehicle and bearer of what is most inward and spiritual for their experience, as well as of that which is merely outward and physical.

Here then we reach the proper conception of the religious or sacred year. Two ideas are brought together in it, which are materially different and yet closely related, religion and nature. Starting in nature, the life of man is required to complete itself in religion, as an order of existence above nature, and involving relations which go altogether beyond the present world. In the religious year, all this is expressed by an easy and natural symbolism. The higher sphere is made to link itself with the lower, in such a way as to show at once, both the necessary connection of the two, and the proper subordination of the last to the purposes and ends of the first. Religion lets itself down, as it were, into the sphere of nature, in order to raise this into its own sphere.

The lower constitution in this case is made to carry in itself the sense of the higher, in the way of figure or type. Nature passes into an allegory of religion. We should err greatly, however, if we should imagine that there was nothing more here than a mere outward resemblance, arbitrarily established by the wit and fancy of man. We have already seen, that there is an inward, real correspondence between the spiritual and physical sides of man's being; and that this last is organically comprehended, by means of his body, in the constitution of nature as a whole. From this it follows as a necessary consequence, that the entire physical order of the world must look towards the spiritual in all its parts, and find there always its last, most true and perfect sense. Could we understand in full the economy of creation, we should see the first of these spheres to be in its very nature a perpetual parable of the second. So it was evidently to the mind of Christ; and

so we too feel it to be, when listening to its most simple and yet most profound lessons, as interpreted under this view from his lips. It is by no mere figure of speech, no simply rhetorical metaphor or comparison, that the forms of nature in space, or its powers in time, are taken to be significant of facts and truths in the higher world of the spirit. There may be much of mere fancy and conceit, much ignorance and blindness, in particular attempts to make out and express the full force of the correspondence at different points. But the correspondence itself is for all this none the less certain and real. The natural carries in itself an affinity with the spiritual; tends towards it as its own proper complement and end; forms every where an adumbration of its invisible presence and power. So in the case before us, where the year is made to assume a sacred or religious form, by having the ideas or facts of religion lodged in its natural revolution, we are not to conceive of the relation as being simply outward and artificial; but are bound to see in it rather a real inward connection between the things which are thus brought together. In no other way can we do full justice to the subject, or be able to understand and explain the position it occupies in the actual history of the world.

The existence of such inward necessary cause or reason, in the case, is at once established by the fact, already mentioned, that the notion of a sacred year is found to prevail among all people and through all times. It enters spontaneously, as it would seem, into the thoughts of men, and can be repressed and set aside only by a certain violence inflicted upon the spirit of religion itself. What is thus natural and universal can never be accidental merely or arbitrary. It must have its ground always in the real nature of things. A sentiment or practice in which all forms of religion come together with common agreement, cannot be absolutely false or without meaning. It cannot be an empty prejudice merely, or a hurtful superstition. Error and falsehood, perversion and extravagance, may correct themselves with its use. But no such corruption can turn the principle itself, which may be thus wronged and abused into a wholesale lie. They form rather part of the evidence, which goes to establish its truth. Back

of all such wrongs and abuses, this still stands firm and secure, as being by the universal consent of mankind something grounded in the religious constitution of the world itself, and so beyond all rational contradiction or doubt.

The force of this in reference to the religious year becomes more striking, when it is considered that the universal consent in question reaches far beyond the mere general notion of making the year in this way a religious remembrancer, the bearer of religious thoughts and ideas. Were this all, we should find unbounded freedom in the manner of carrying out the conception. There would be no fixed order or rule in the location of particulars, in the determination of details. All would be at the mercy of fancy or caprice. Such, however, is not the way, in which we find this universal conception carried out in the actual practice of the world. The conception determines also, to a very material extent, the order and mode of its own reduction to use. It is not satisfied with having the year hung around with religious garlands and festoons, the ornamental imagery of a higher life, in a merely loose and external manner. It involves always the supposition of some necessary order and method, growing out of the correspondence of the natural and spiritual worlds themselves, according to which only the arrangement can be rightly carried into effect. It is assumed throughout, that the course of the year in time, with its revolving material changes, serves to shadow forth in a real way the idea of a higher spiritual orbit, through which man is to be regarded as moving towards his proper destination in another world. Time is made to be the mirror thus of eternity. The visible is held to reflect the invisible. The lower sphere is felt to include in itself parabolically the sense of the higher. The natural, accordingly, is not taken to represent the spiritual at random, in any and every way, but only according to a law fixed in its own constitution. This we see exemplified in the actual judgment and practice of the world. The natural year, all the world over, is made to underlie the religious or sacred year, and to lead the way in determining its order and form. The relation between them is such, that the first refers as it were of its own accord to the second, and

offers itself throughout as its proper utterance and expression. The ideas of the religious year are apprehended as having an actual representation in the facts of the natural year, as meeting in them their own picture or echo. Hence we have, in the midst of all that may seem to be confused and fantastic in the filling up of different forms of this spiritualized year, a certain uniformity of scheme at the same time that serves to impress on the whole a common character. The more closely the matter is examined, the more clear it seems to become that these various forms are themselves in some way inwardly related; the only difference being that some are far more perfect than others, in the measure of their approximation to the truth, which all in their way propose to reach and express. This fact, still more than the mere universal notion itself of a sacred year, goes conclusively to show how truly and really the whole conception is grounded in the natural constitution of the world.

Religion in the case of man, however, requires more than the simple development of his own spiritual faculties and powers in what may be denominated the order of nature. It supposes, as necessary to its own completion, an order also of grace, a supernatural revelation descending into the bosom of the world in the form of actual history and fact. The absolute fulness of this revelation is reached at last in Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." In the form of promise, prophecy and type, it runs away back to the beginning of the world, preparing the way through the whole period of the Old Testament for his glorious advent. Necessarily this system of grace, under such historical view, must be vastly more for the religious life of man, than the system of nature; and it might seem, in one view, that the idea of religion thus based on what is above nature, and virtually opposing it as a power antagonistic to faith, would require no such union with it, and no such help from it, as is implied in the conception of a sacred or ecclesiastical year; that its true interests rather would be much better consulted in every way, by separating it wholly from all such connection with the merely natural order of time, and joining it in

thought and association only with the supernatural facts which are presented to us in the Bible, in their own higher order and form. But here three thoughts offer themselves to our view.

First, these supernatural facts are themselves historical; and having thus entered into the sphere of nature and time, they need to be held in permanent connection with this for our thinking, in order that they may be apprehended as facts, and not as notions merely or imaginations. Like all other historical events, they must have for us a local habitation in our sense of chronology, to be realities at all for our belief. This of itself at once leads to the conception of anniversaries, monumental solemnities, seasons of commemoration; to the conception, in one word, of an ecclesiastical or sacred year. It is in this way great national facts perpetuate their force in the mind of a nation. Other forms of tradition, oral or written, are not enough for the purpose. They must be lodged monumentally in the ever recurring circuit of the year, that grand image of all time, that proper epitome of man's life, both individual and universal; so as to be in this way reproduced and called up anew in the national consciousness, age after age. This gives us the idea of a political year; which is constituted, not just by a system of anniversary observances in memory of all separate events possessing national historical interest, but rather by singling out such events as are felt to be of cardinal and fundamental account in the history, and making them to represent the whole. Without some arrangement of this sort, serving to keep alive the memory of the past in the consciousness of the present, no true national spirit can be long maintained. But now the very same law which requires the great facts of political history to be kept thus alive, for the purposes of patriotism, requires just as much the great facts of sacred history to be kept alive in the same manner, for the purposes of religion; and so we are brought here again to the idea of an ecclesiastical year, precisely as in the other case we come to the idea of a political year. As historical events, the facts of revelation need to be domiciliated for our minds, in this way, in our natural sense of time. Without this, they must ever be in danger of becoming for us mere shadows and abstractions.

Secondly, whilst it is true that the order of grace, resting on revelation, is something far above the order of nature, resting upon the constitution of the present world, and that this last, regarded as a separate system, involves a certain opposition to the first; it does not follow from this, by any means, that the two systems are in absolute contradiction to one another, and capable of no agreement whatever. On the contrary, it is certain, from the very nature of the case, that as different parts of the same creation they must be inwardly related, and closely bound together, in the harmony of a common divine purpose and plan. The case demands not the destruction or exclusion of nature, not a Manichean fanatical hostility to its presence in any and every form; but its proper subordination merely to the authority of grace, as the sphere in which it is formed to find properly its own true significance and end. In such right order, nature appears no longer as the foe, but only as the handmaid of grace, and this relation too is found to be in no sense compulsory, but most perfectly free. The lower sphere shows itself to have been in truth created and formed for the higher. Nature becomes the prophecy of grace, its universal type and symbol. The two systems flow thus easily and of their own accord together. There is no reason, therefore, why the facts of revelation, regarded as the ground of religion, should be taken to exclude or thrust out of sight the facts of nature in the same view.

In the third place, the more we look into the subject the more we shall see that these two classes of facts do in very deed, as it were, run parallel the one with the other, so as most readily to admit the harmony of which we have just spoken. So much might be presumed, as an *a priori* anticipation, on the supposition that both systems proceed from God. There is no room properly for the thought of such correspondence, in the case of any simply national or political year. Who would dream, for example, of setting the Birth Day of Washington, or the Declaration of American Independence, in any sort of connection with the astronomical character of their anniversary seasons, unless it were in the way only of acknowledged fancy or conceit? Ordinary national history is too narrow

and partial an interest to be separately symbolized, in such fashion, by the constitution of nature. It can be so symbolized at best, only as it is comprehended in the general movement which represents the history of the world as a whole. The political year, accordingly, is not expected to fall in with the full constitution of the natural year; it is enough, if it be brought simply to rest upon this as an outward and artificial arrangement. But with the religious year the case is altogether different. This has to do with the most universal of all human interests. Religion is for no nation as such, but for the whole world. The facts which underlie it historically in the form of revelation, are necessarily of the same universal and abiding force; and we have a right to expect, accordingly, that the constitution of nature, related as it must be to the destiny of man under the like broad view, should be found to include a certain inward correspondence with the order and course of these supernatural facts, as well as with the spiritual economy itself which they underlie. And what might thus be anticipated, we find to be in truth strikingly verified in the actual relations of the two systems. The main historical facts here have been so ordered, in the wise providence of Him who rules all things for his own glory, as to fall in chronologically with the very facts in nature which properly symbolize their sense and power; thus rendering it perfectly easy to bring both systems into the construction of one and the same Church year. It is easy to see how this goes, on the one hand to attest the truth of revelation, by showing its correspondence with the typology of nature; while it serves, at the same time, no less clearly, to interpret and corroborate on the other hand the true sense of this lower sphere, as being throughout, the terrestial parable of spiritual and heavenly things.

The sum and organic comprehension of the entire symbolism of nature comes to view in the *Year*, as being the completion of a full circle in the process of all earthly life. By being taken up into the sphere of grace, not only is the year itself glorified, but along with it at the same time, the whole constitution and course of nature may be said to be glorified also, and sublimated into a new and higher sense. For the higher

sphere, on the other hand, the relation involves the idea of a real victory or conquest, enlarging its rightful power. The sense of this expresses itself in the ordinary conception of *festival* days. They carry with them the feeling of joyful solemnity, elevation above the common level of our earthly life, rest from the hard work-day character of our natural worldly existence in the bosom of a higher order of being, which is made to descend upon us by the power of religion. The ecclesiastical year becomes thus a system of symbolical festivals; in which is celebrated continually the true and proper relationship of the two economies of nature and grace.

Such is the conception of the religious year in its perfect form. As such, it must be of course, at the same time, the Christian year. But it does not necessarily appear at once in this completeness. Rather it has a history, a genesis, through which it reveals itself under various forms, rising from what may be considered its rude beginnings only to that which constitutes at last its absolute consummation. Wide differences characterize these forms; but through all such differences, they are still found to represent and express fundamentally the same idea of law. So much indeed is implied by the supposition of any real history in the case. The idea of a religious year, as we have before seen, is universal, a fact seated in the religious constitution of the world. Under all manifestations, accordingly, it is the same force always working in the same direction. Its different forms are but so many different stages, in the progress of which, it is carried forward to its true ideal perfection.

Regarded in this light, the sacred year falls, for our observation, into three grand historical types—PAGAN, JEWISH, CHRISTIAN. To these the subject requires us now to turn our attention.

In the *Pagan* religious year, we have the symbolical apprehension of nature in its most elementary and rude form. The visible material creation is felt to carry in itself the traces of its divine origin, and becomes to the consciousness in this way the sign and type of powers existing mysteriously behind itself, on which it is always dependent and whose presence it

serves to reveal. But there is still no clearness in the perception; and so no power of steady discrimination between the sign and the thing signified. Hence the two are made to flow together, at the expense of the higher thought. Nature is confounded with the divine powers it represents, and superstitiously invested with their proper dignity and right. The divine, in this view, becomes earthly, as the earthly also is taken to be divine.

It fares with the religious nature of man here, as in all other cases where it labors to fulfil its constitutional destiny, without the help of an objective revelation. The effort to do so proves an abortive nisus merely in the right direction, which terminates at last in an empty shadow, throwing the spirit helplessly back upon the sphere of nature which it had thus vainly struggled to surmount. In all such cases, however, the abortion is not without its meaning. It shows what the religious constitution of man universally needs and seeks; and becomes in this way a testimony and argument for the truth, which it has no power to reach; just as the blind force which turns and leads the roots of a plant towards the water, or its upward growth towards the light, shows its necessary relation to these elements, even before this may be established in fact. Such unsuccessful endeavors on the part of the religious spirit, in the sphere of Paganism, can never be more of course than sad caricatures of the truth itself, as brought into full view by the glorious light of Christianity. But caricatures are still in their way correspondences; and the old Greek Fathers, therefore, were perfectly right, in looking upon Paganism itself as a real preparation in such view for the Gospel. We need not be disturbed at all, then, by any parallelisms it may seem to offer with Christianity. We need not shrink from owning them in their utmost force. We should be glad rather to meet them, wherever they may come in our way. They are just what we are bound to expect if Christianity be indeed the absolute truth of religion, that in which all its partial and defective manifestations come to their final end. What comparative anatomy and physiology are to the structure of the human body, or comparative psychology to the true idea of the human

soul, that precisely comparative religion, as we may call it, or the scheme of religious systems in general, is to Christianity. If this stood in no agreement or correspondence with religion in other forms, we might well question its pretensions. They show themselves unquestionable, just because analogies of this sort do press upon it from every side, and find in it the universal and harmonious fulfilment of their own sense.

The Pagan sacred year, through all its variations among different nations, proceeds always on the theory of a merely natural or physical religion. The relation of the sun to the earth is felt darkly to signify, and then in some way to actually involve the higher spiritual destinies of the world, as well as its simply outward changes. The active and passive forces of nature, represented in this relation, are confounded with the notion of divine powers. All becomes mythology, a play of the religious fancy, constructed on the basis of purely physical facts and changes. This may be clearly seen especially in the Roman Heathenism, which is to be regarded as the last result only or falling together of all older Pagan religions. It is throughout pure naturalism, based upon the movements of the astronomical or solar year. Its twelve superior deities personify the system of the twelve months, the course of the year through the signs of the zodiac, the great leading changes wrought by the sun, during this period, in the life of the earth. We have no room here to follow out the correspondence in its details; nor is it necessary. It is enough for our purpose to state the general fact.

The equinoxes and solstices form the four cardinal points of the process, and rule throughout the order of its symbolism. The oldest Pagan years were made to commence in the Fall, equinoctially. The later Roman year, on the other hand, was solstitial, opening in the Winter. In both cases, however, the order and sense of the symbolism is substantially the same. It starts with the time, in which the powers of nature are shut up, as it were, in its interior economy; the life of the earth in a state of deep slumber; the strength of the sun in a great measure unfelt. Through the winter months, we have a struggle between the forces of darkness and light, resulting contin-

ually more and more in the triumph of the last. The heavens gain power. With the progress of Spring, this power descends into the air and earth, causing the whole sphere to wake into new life. In Summer the victory becomes complete. The sun culminates in the June solstice, and exercises universal dominion in the form both of light and heat. He shines as Mercury; burns and thunders as Jupiter. The earth is made to teem with living spirit. Afterwards the heavens seem to bury themselves in its bosom. All becomes fruit, harvest vintage. Then follows a new equilibrium, and sort of second Spring, more spiritual than the first, in the grave form of Autumn. The process completes itself as the full maturity of terrestial life; which thus returns back again from its outward action into its own original stillness, (the gloomy reign of Proserpine,) only to make room for a new circuit afterwards under the same form.

In all this, there was for the Pagan mind a reference to the general conception of religion; that is, to the idea of *redemption*, as a process of deliverance from the powers of darkness and evil, which are felt universally to press upon the life of man in this world. To be real, this process must begin in the soul, must be spiritual. For the natural religious consciousness, however, it has its mirror in the life of nature as set forth by the process of the solar year. This, unfortunately, has no power to bring into view the positive supernatural realities, through whose power alone it is possible for the symbolized idea to become fact. That requires the historical intervention of a higher life, in the form of revelation. Having no such help, Paganism could never make its escape, as we have seen, from the sphere of nature. Matter and spirit fell confusedly together. All ended in a purely physical mythology, of the most fantastic and barren kind.

But shall we say, for this reason, that there is no connection really between the course of nature and the process of redemption in its true and proper form? By no means. The Pagan feeling on this subject was right, although dark and confused. The enigma did not lose its sense, nor cease to be a real prophetical burden for the human soul, merely because it came to

no true interpretation. There exists, we have good reason to believe, a real analogy or parallelism, between the natural year and the system of redemption, in virtue of which, the last is typified by the first throughout, in a way far beyond all simply fanciful conceit. This can be fully apprehended, of course, only where the system of redemption itself comes fully into view; that is to say, only in the full light of Christianity, the end and completion of religion in every other view.

The *Jewish* religious year was of a vastly higher order than the Pagan. It was established by divine law, and rested immediately on historical facts, miracles of grace actually wrought in the world, and serving to reveal in the bosom of nature the intervention of a supernatural life. What nature struggled in vain to reach and express without revelation, was here to a certain extent supplied by its presence. With such higher character, Judaism necessarily stood opposed, at the same time, to the way in which the religion of nature was carried out by Paganism, involving, as this did, an apostacy which changed the truth of God into a lie, and drew after it all the abominations of idolatry. Its mission was, to prepare the way, on the one hand, for the coming of Christ, and on the other, to turn the human mind away from nature, that it might be fixed upon itself and made to know its own need of redemption. Both these purposes called for laws and positive institutions. Nature was not to be set aside; it was still, with all its yearly changes, a manifestation of divine powers; but it must not be confounded with the notion of these powers themselves. The symbol must pass into a better sense, by being made an allegory of history, an image in the world of sense representing God's actual dealings of grace with men.

The peculiarity of the Jewish year is, that it has not only yearly but *weekly* sacred days. It starts from the *Sabbath*, as the centre which rules and conditions its whole construction. It has yearly festivals also; but they are made to hinge on the weekly institution, as the primary power. This of itself had a tendency to break the force of the simply physical year, as it ruled the religious thinking of the Pagan world; and contributed very materially, beyond all question, to raise the idea

of worship out of the element of nature into a different and far higher region, that of history, God's supernatural conduct and providence employed for the redemption and salvation of his chosen people.

But with all this care taken to guard against perversion and abuse, regard was still had to the natural year, as being of itself in true harmony and correspondence with the life of religion in man. This appears at once from the fact, that the great annual festivals were made to fall in with those parts of the year precisely, which corresponded parabolically with their proper signification and sense. They were not founded directly on these; all of them rested on grand historical facts, which they served to commemorate from age to age; but these facts themselves had been so ordered, as to concur with the times in question. The epochs of history fell in wonderfully with the epochs of nature. The Passover, commemorating the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, answered in this way to the time when the whole Pagan world celebrated the renewal of nature through the return of spring. So in like manner, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles, resting on the memory of other dispensations of God's favor towards the same people, had their significant analogies also in the positions assigned to them in the natural year, which it is by no means difficult to discover and understand. Have we any right to look upon this as a merely accidental, and therefore unmeaning concurrence? We think it must be plain to all, that we have not. It must be viewed as belonging to the plan of the world; and goes to confirm what we have already said, that according to this plan a real original and necessary parallelism holds between the two systems of nature and grace, in virtue of which the first is to be regarded as everywhere adumbrating the sense of the second.

True, the sacred year of the Jews was made to commence in the Spring; differing in this respect from that of Paganism, which dated from Autumn or the first part of Winter. But then the system took no account comparatively of the period between Autumn and Spring. This suited the character of the Old Testament dispensation, under which the process of grace preparatory to redemption lay, back of the fact itself, in

a sort of hidden mystery, like the powers of nature during the reign of Winter. With the coming of Christ, this mystery clears into magnificent light. The process of redemption is found moving its course, first in his person, in order that it may break forth in the full victory of Easter as a fact accomplished for the world at large. Here the mystery of Winter finds at last its proper spiritual meaning. The year of religion falls back again in its order, and is brought thus once more to commence where the year of nature also of right begins. Only the correspondence is now such as to light up the movement with celestial splendor from beginning to end. Nature appears transfused throughout with spirit and life. Grace reigns triumphant over all the months and seasons.

This is the *Christian Year.* The universal character of Christianity, as compared both with Judaism and Paganism, is fulfilment or completion. Judaism stood far above all simply natural religion. It was a system of revelation. It rested on supernatural history. Still it was only a relative and partial exhibition of the truth in such form, the shadow of blessings to come. For this reason, it could never do full justice to Paganism. It was the direct, broad contradiction of the wholesale lie into which this had fallen, by substituting mere nature for the proper idea of God; but such contradiction had no power of itself to harmonize with their true end the principles and tendencies, out of whose corruption the falsehood sprang. There was, accordingly, an antagonism here, that called for reconciliation in a still deeper and more comprehensive sphere of life. In the fulness of time this appeared in Christ, the Word made Flesh. "He is our Peace," says the Apostle, the end of all previous discords; the last full sense of man's relations to himself, the world and God. In Him, Judaism was fulfilled and Paganism explained. Christianity is the absolute truth, in which both the types of the one and the dark endeavors of the other, are satisfied and brought to rest. This general character appears in its universal constitution; and so among other things embraces also the structure of its sacred year. Religion in the form of nature, and religion in the form of history, come here to a perfect understanding and agree-

ment. The constitution of the world is sanctified, by being taken up into the constitution of grace. The year of religion is now truly and properly a *Church Year.*

If the correspondence between the historical facts of Judaism and the course of nature be striking, as we have just seen, the correspondence between the great facts of Christianity and the same course of nature is more wonderful and instructive still; showing most manifestly the presence of a common thought in both, by which the one is to be considered a true type and figure of the other. Who in his senses can imagine, that no such significance attaches to the time of our Saviour's death and resurrection; or that the Festival of Easter has been determined thus, by a fortuitous correspondence only, to the period of the vernal equinox? Who that thinks can fail to see in the Festivals of Ascension and Pentecost, a similar relation to the triumphant progress of the sun towards the summer solstice, and the changes which are brought to pass by it on the earth? And so much being allowed, who can have a right to consider it an empty play of fancy only, when the months going before Easter, from the beginning of Winter, are taken to symbolize the process of redemption, as carried forward previously to that point in the mystery of Christ's own person; or when the months following Pentecost, on to the close of Autumn, are made to symbolize in like manner the progress of the same work, as carried forward subsequently in the life of the Church? In both cases, what a field for pious contemplation! Analogies, of the most interesting sort, thicken upon our view, just in proportion as we give the subject our earnest attention.

Our limits will not allow us to enter here, into any more particular consideration of the organism or structure of the Christian Year. The object of this article has been merely to bring into view the general nature of the conception, and the grounds on which it properly challenges our religious respect.

Those who fancy, that the use of any such scheme of worship is without reason or meaning, or who, it may be, permit themselves even to stigmatize it as an unprofitable and hurtful superstition, betray at once their own want both of earnest-

ness and knowledge. There is in truth a deep foundation for it in the constitution of nature, and it falls in with the universal spirit of religion. Christianity differs from other religions here, only by passing beyond them in the fulness and perfection of its image. The feeling which justifies and prompts the conception of a religious year, found nothing to counteract it in the coming of Christ, but much to favor it, much to assist and carried it forward in the right direction. The great facts of Christianity served powerfully of themselves to call it into exercise. The lively apprehension of them which prevailed in the mind of the early Church, made it impossible to avoid so natural an observance. The Christian year, accordingly, is as old as the Christian Church itself. What an amount of interest do we not find clustering around the solemnity of Easter, from the earliest times! The idea of such a year, and its general outline, leaving room of course for much filling up afterwards in its details, entered into the universal thinking of the Church, and conditioned the entire system of its worship, from the beginning. It did so, moreover, spontaneously, and by the necessity, as it were, of an inward law. It came not primarily by art and reflection, but grew forth rather as a natural product from the Christian consciousness itself. And so, we may add, its true sense and force can never be fully measured by any merely logical standard. It speaks, not just to the understanding of man, but far more to his feeling and heart. Its voice is for the deep places of the soul, where life reigns as a full power back of all partial forms of expression. Hence the authority it has carried with it for the Christian world, through all ages. Only since the Reformation, has the attempt been made, not by Protestantism in general, but by a fragmentary section of Protestantism, to set aside the whole conception and practice as a "relic of superstition," serving to encumber more than to assist the proper spirituality of Christian worship. But of what force can any such isolated judgment be, over against the united mind of the Church in all past centuries, backed as this is, at the same time, by the religious constitution of the world, and by its religious history also, in the most universal view? The exception is too violent, too monstrous, we may say, to stand.

Any attempt to set aside the proper Church Year, involves necessarily an attempt also to substitute for it some other scheme of religious solemnities contrived to serve the same end; for there is a natural instinct or impulse here, which will not allow itself to be long absolutely disregarded. But no such scheme can ever carry with it anything like the same worth for the ends of religion. Every other scheme must be in comparison mechanical merely and superficial. All experience goes to show, that no system of Christian instruction, no method of Christian worship, can ever be so effective for Church purposes, as that which is based on the proper use of the ecclesiastical year. As it is always an unnatural, so it is always a poor and hurtful exchange, where this is given up in favor of any other arrangement; and it is certain that no such new arrangement can be able to compete successfully, in the long run, with the infinitely more respectable authority of the older system.

The principle of the Church Year is of vastly more consequence than is commonly imagined. It goes deep into the very heart of Christianity. So it must do, necessarily, if we have now taken any right view at all of its nature. There is a most intimate connection between the use of such a scheme of worship and the practical apprehension of the great facts of Christianity in their own proper form. Puritanism, in this case, pretends to be more spiritual than the old Church faith, as it does also in so many other cases, by setting its worship above all outward forms and conditions. But such spiritualism is something very different from real spirituality. It is only in keeping with the general character of the Puritanic heresy—the heresy which disowns the Apostles' Creed, and turns the idea of the Church, as there taught, into an obsolete "figment." The difficulty with this whole habit of mind, is its want of power to receive and hold the historical truths of the Gospel, not as ideas, merely, but as realities and facts. It is sadly infected throughout with the old leaven of Gnosticism, which is ever in disguise again nothing else but the secret virus of Rationalism. It is but the natural result of such character, that it should be unfriendly to the Church festivals,

and to the whole idea of the Church Year; and so, on the other hand, it may be assumed, that this ancient system cannot anywhere go into general disuse or neglect, without serious loss to the true interests of religion just in the direction of such Gnostic or Rationalistic thinking. The system forms a necessary part of the churchly scheme of Christianity. Where it has fallen to the ground, there can be no right sense of the Church, no proper faith in the holy sacraments, no sound liturgical feeling, no active sympathy with the grand facts which are set forth in the Creed, no firm hold on the abiding power of these facts, as an order of grace moving onward in sublime correspondence with the order of nature to the end of time.

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Art. VII.—THE CHRISTIAN STAND-POINT.

"The truth as it is in Jesus."—Eph. 4: 21.

CHRISTIANITY is the highest, the most perfect, yea the *absolute* religion: by it alone man's *true* relation to the Deity is expressed. As man in his primeval state was the most noble of all terrestial creatures, embodying in his person all earthly excellency, whilst at the same time he was created in the image of God, so amongst all the religions, that have been revealed in the world, Christianity is the most perfect, the most sublime, the most true, and the most holy. It was observed by Pindar, a celebrated Grecian poet, when about to sing in honor of the Olympic games, that, amongst the elements, water is the best, amongst the coins gold far outshines all the rest, and if in the firmament you wish to see a brilliant star, never expect to find one more so than the sun himself. In like manner we may observe, that among all the religions in man's spirit-

ual firmament, there is none to be compared with the *Christian*, which, like the sun, has arisen upon us with healing in his beams; it is constantly exerting its transforming influence upon human nature, elevating it to its own higher sphere, thus proving itself to be a new creation in the image of the Triune God with all his glorious perfections, his power, his presence, his wisdom, his holiness, his justice, his mercy, and above all his goodness and his love. Its truths are so plain that he who runneth may read and understand them; yet it is a concrete generality, which cannot be defined, and whose nature cannot be fully explained: there are in it mysteries the most sublime and the most profound, which even the angels desire to look into. "It is a stream in which the lamb may wade and the elephant swim."

In considering this subject it is of the utmost importance that we do not confound the true *idea* of Christianity with the different forms in which it has been revealed in the successive periods of its history.

In the commencement it made its appearance in the world as a new life, in the totality of its own being and in the unity of its own elements, all symmetrically united and blended in the common centre of its author's person. Here we find no one-sided tendencies: the teachings, the precepts, and the devotions of our blessed Lord are all in perfect harmony with each other, and with the law of his mysteriously divine-human being. As the God-man, he unites and centres in his person all created and uncreated excellencies: in him dwells the fulness of the God-head bodily. Divinity and humanity, the infinite and the finite, the eternal and the temporal, the heavenly and the earthly have come to a living, a real, harmonious and personal union in Christ, who is "the way, the truth, and the life." As this life is revealed in the apostolic or primitive ages, it naturally assumes, in a *pre-eminent manner* the form of dogma, or doctrine. The inspired Scriptures themselves are now to be distinguished from every thing spurious, and the sacred canon is to be finally settled and closed: the lamp of infallible truth must be placed in the hands of the Lamb's bride in the commencement of her pilgrimage through this benighted

world. The doctrines of the Scriptures must now be deduced and clearly defined over against the errors of the Jews, on the one hand, and the heresies of the Gentiles on the other. The doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the divinity and humanity of the Son of God, justification by faith, &c., are now to be brought home to the consciousness of Christians, that they may not be blown about by adverse winds: hence much account is made during this period of the form of sound words.

For this work there was a remarkable adaptation in the first bearers of the Christian life, who enjoyed the advantages of the ancient Grecian civilization, learning and refinement. When, however, the Grecian power begins to decline, together with its cultivation, and the strong and vigorous nations of the West are brought under the influence of Christianity, it unfolds itself pre-eminently in the form of authority and law. The wild and uncivilized nature of man must be brought under subjection, his passions must be subdued, and his will must be brought into submission to a wholesome discipline: the conflicting elements of the moral world must be made to harmonize, and if possible, all nations be brought to acknowledge the regal power and dominion of this supernatural revelation. All is made to turn upon obedience and good works; rites and ceremonies, fasts and holy days must be observed as unto the Lord. The Christianity of the entire middle period, reaching from the fifth to the sixteenth century, is accordingly to be viewed mainly as a great power revealed in the form of moral law; hence its great success in civilizing the nations of Europe. But we find that, just as the legalism of the Old Testament dispensation was necessary to prepare the way for the coming of Messiah, and the kingdom of grace, so the reign of Christianity itself, under the form of law, had a tendency to prepare the way for a dispensation of Gospel freedom.

The errors and abuses springing from the human side of the Church, during this period, cast a dark and gloomy shade over the page of her history. But the Reformation of the sixteenth century must not be regarded simply as the protest of truth and righteousness against these dreadful errors and abuses,

but also as the legitimate product of Christianity in the form of Gospel and redeeming power; it was a fuller revelation than ever before of Christ in his Church, who said in regard to her: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." It was a revival of religion in the proper sense of the term, in which the people generally were made acquainted with the contents of the Sacred Scriptures, and the general plan of salvation through Christ. The justification of the sinner by faith now became the doctrine of a "standing or falling Church;" salvation by grace, solely upon the merits of the Saviour's sufferings and death, without the deeds of the law, is the good news proclaimed in every hamlet and city throughout the Germanic nations, which have become a congenial home for Gospel light and freedom.

Christianity, as dogma, is peculiarly the religion of the ancient Greek Church, which, to this day, styles itself the "orthodox;" as moral law it has developed itself most fully (I do not say the most purely) in the Church of Rome, which still arrogantly claims to be the mistress of the world; and as soteriological power, which includes the knowledge both of doctrine and law, it is the religion of the modern Reformation Church.

Neither of these forms is, abstractedly considered, perfect or complete; it cannot of itself square fully with the idea of Christianity in its totality. Doctrine, (Glaubenslehre) for instance, is an essential element of the true religion; there can be no Christianity without it. Yet Christianity does not consist in doctrine alone, however good and however true. This relates to man's rational or intellectual nature; this must, of course, be illumined; but yet, as we all know, a man may even become eminent for his knowledge of sacred truth, and still not be a Christian. The law has reference more particularly to the will and moral nature of man; this must be brought into a state of righteousness, or harmony with the will of God. Yet, we are expressly told, that "by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified in God's sight." "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven."

As Gospel or redeeming power, Christianity of course brings man into a saving relation to God in Christ Jesus; but not by any means in an outward or abstract way, but in the form of an internal, real spiritual life union with the person of the Saviour. There is no point that is more clearly and fully established by the Bible, than the necessity of this union in order to salvation.

This is the form in which the blessings of grace and salvation are applied to the sinner. He is interested in, and put in possession of Christ's redemption by union with him: "Of him are ye in Christ Jesus." 1 Cor. 1: 30. "Men must not think to stand afar off from Christ," says an eminent theologian (namely, Boston) "and partake of the benefits of his death, upon their praying to him for them, as the beggar by his crying gets of the rich man's money thrown to him, which I observe is the soul ruining notion many have of this matter. But he must unite with Christ, and so partake of the redemption purchased by him, as the poor widow drowned in debt, by marrying the rich man, is interested in his substance. It is with Christ that all saving benefits are given, and without him none such are received." "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely gives us all things." Rom. 8: 32.

As the sin of Adam could never have injured his posterity, if they had not been in him by a living union, so Christ's redemption can never profit them unless they are vitally united to him by a true faith, and baptized into his mystical body by the Holy Ghost. That this mystical union between Christ and believers is not merely of a moral character, but real and vital, is evident from the plain scriptural terms in which it is expressed. Christ is said to be in believers and they in him. Col. 1: 27; Rom. 8: 10; 1 Cor. 1: 30. He is said to dwell in them and they in him. John 6: 56. They are said to abide in one another. John 15: 4. They are said to have put on Christ. Gal. 3: 27. They are said to be so joined as to be one spirit. 1 Cor. 6: 17.

To expound these Scriptures as of a mere relative or moral union, such as exists between a king and his subjects, a

master and his servant, is evidently to wrest them from their proper meaning. Our view is also fully corroborated by those Scriptures in which the union of believers to Christ is compared to that between the vine and its branches, John 15, 5; the the head and the body, Eph. 1: 22; meat eaten and the eater, John 6: 56; yea to that between the Father and Christ, John 17: 27.

These unions are all *real*, so that must be real which they illustrate. Let us add to this the evidence derived from the true nature of the sacraments. The Apostle Paul, having maintained that Christ is mystical, i. e. that Christ and believers are one body, illustrates and confirms his declaration by an allusion to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper: "For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one spirit." 1 Cor 12: 13.

If this union be not real, but merely relative, then the sacraments are merely signs and not seals, exhibiting and applying Christ to the recipients of his grace. For without this real union the feeding on Christ's body and blood truly and really in the sacrament is not possible, which is, nevertheless, the doctrine of the Scriptures and of our Catechism, proven from the very words of the institution, "Take eat, this is my body." If the sacramental eating and drinking be true and real, then the union must be true and real also, as that between the food and the body in which it is incorporated. "First union, then communion," is the language of the excellent and pious John Flavel. To deny the Scriptures in regard to this point, on the ground that Christ is in heaven and believers on earth, is to deny, at the same time, the reality of the incarnation; it is to overlook the fact that whilst he is seated at the right hand of God the Father, he is by the power of his Godhead and Spirit at no time absent from us. That the union is spiritual and not that of external contiguity, is by no means an argument against its reality. Thomas, who had thrust his hands into the wounds of the Saviour's side, was not more closely united to him than were the other disciples, or even the converted thief, whose spirit had been conveyed to

Paradise. Faith annihilates time and distance; "it is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen;" it is the organ through which the realities of the spiritual world are let in upon the soul of man, and the form in which he receives Christ with all his benefits. It being settled then that Christ is mystical, that he and believers are one body, animated by the same life and the same spirit, as truly as Adam and his posterity constitute but one family, it must necessarily follow that Christianity squares fully with man's entire being. Like leaven, it pervades the whole lump, and sanctifies every department of human life. The laws and customs, the arts and sciences, learning and literature, all social relations and conditions; in a word, everything human is brought under its hallowed influences. The disciples of Christ are called *Christians*, because being united to him by a true faith, they are made partakers of his anointing; the same spirit, which is poured out upon the head, naturally flows down upon the members of the body, so that they are made prophets, priests and kings unto God. Just as Adam and his posterity, and the natural world with which they stood connected, were cursed in consequence of sin, so in the dispensation of gospel grace, everything is baptized in the Christian name. Hence we have our Christian men, families and nations; we have our Christian temples and worship, our Christian laws and countries; we have our Christian institutions; we have colleges and seminaries, philosophy and letters, arts and sciences, *all* baptized in this sacred name. They are all connected more or less remotely with the grand system of religion which has Christ for its centre, and humanity as mystical in him for its periphery.

There is no room here for abstract speculation or thought. Indeed all abstract forms of doctrine, if they are not to be looked upon with suspicion, must be regarded, nevertheless, as one-sided and incomplete.

The religion of mere doctrine is at best a cold intellectualism, which, like the regions of the North, has sufficient light, but not warmth enough to produce the fruits of grace and righteousness. The religion of mere ceremonial forms and observances is like the marble statue, imposing and beautiful

without; but there is no beating heart within, whose warm pulsations give expression to the countenance and motion to the body. The religion of abstract spiritualism, which makes but little account of doctrine and none whatever of forms, is like the mist and vapor of the morning that vanish into air; it has no power to elevate man to the position from which he fell, in consequence of sin, and from which he may be carried forward to the high degree of perfection and dignity for which he was designed in his creation. Yet, no religion that comes short of this, or does not square fully with man's entire being, meeting all his wants, can be regarded as perfect and complete. Just here precisely does Christianity authenticate itself as divine and altogether true; it redeems man in the totality of his being, both soul and body, and brings him into a state of actual union and communion with the divine nature. Hence its true idea involves more than doctrine and precept; yea, even more than faith as receiving power and grace; it is life and spirit flowing over to us continually from the fulness of him who filleth immensity with his presence, whilst at the same time, he is formed in the heart of every believer as the hope of eternal glory.

That Christianity is a living unity, whose mysteries cannot be fathomed by the finite understanding, is just as rational too as it is Scriptural.

Has it ever occured to those religionists, who deal exclusively in abstractions, that, whilst they are contending for their favorite theories, according to which every thing is made to square with human reason, they deny, or at least ignore the grand fact upon the ground of which salvation is alone possible? I mean the fact on which the very doctrine of the atonement is based; namely, that the same human nature which hath sinned must likewise make satisfaction for sin. This is a point which is fully settled by every confession of faith and every system of theology that is entitled to the least respect. Is it reasonable that the justice of God would punish any other creature for the sin which man hath committed? Could God in justice lay upon the angels the iniquities of us all? Or could he so lay aside his justice as to save men in their sins and iniquities? Impossible in the nature of the case.

If then, God has atoned for sin at all, he must have done so in human nature; that is the Saviour of man, whilst he is very God, must also be very man, sustaining to his people the very same relation as exists between Adam and his descendants. Either we must admit this fact, or we must deny altogether the doctrine of the atonement and the possibility of salvation. This is the only alternative left us. Those who profess faith in the doctrines of the Bible, and yet deny that Christianity is a life-power, are sadly and most fearfully deluded. Doctrinally there is no soundness in them from the crowns of their heads unto the soles of their feet. They may profess Christ with their lips, but they deny him in their hearts. Their error is fundamental; hence they can have no proper conception of any of the great doctrines that are essential to salvation, such for instance as original sin, human depravity, regeneration, justification, &c.

And here we would ask, Is such unbelief reasonable? How can the origin of sin, its malignity, and the evils it has brought into the world be accounted for on the principle of such unbelief? "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God;" he is no less a fool who denies that the Son of God hath come in the flesh. Of all absurdities, the greatest is that of unbelief in this respect.

On the contrary, what is more in accordance with sound and enlightened reason, than the supposition that the infinitely good and merciful God would save such of his fallen creatures as are capable of salvation? Truly if man can be redeemed, he whose essence is love, and whose power and wisdom are infinite, may be expected to bring deliverance. But we are asked, Why has not the same goodness redeemed the angels that kept not their first estate? We reply, no doubt if they could have been redeemed they would. The very reason why no such favor has been shown them, is, because they are not capable of receiving it. Every fallen angel is a sinner "per se;" the legions who fell with Lucifer did not fall because he fell, or in consequence of his transgression, not having been generated from him; therefore, in order to their redemption, it would be necessary for the Deity to assume the nature of

each angel separately, which we conceive to be impossible in the nature of the case. All the children of men, however, being possessed of one common nature, having descended from the same parentage, or, in other words, constituting but a single organism, we find here a possibility of a union with God, and consequently man is capable of redemption: "For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

From all that has now been said, it will follow that the interpreter, who occupies the Christian stand-point, does not take as the principle of his instructions any particular doctrine, or form of religion, but he rather plants himself upon the Christian system in its entireness, having as the principle of his interpretations "the truth as it is in Jesus." Conscious of his own personal union with Christ, by the Holy Ghost and by faith, he looks out from *this eminent point of view* upon the two worlds with which he stands connected, namely, the world of nature and the world of grace.

The importance of this position will appear more fully by an induction of particulars.

Objectively, or in itself considered, the truth as it is in Jesus, is one and undivided—more permanent than the heavens, more stable than the earth, and can be found no where else than in him, who is the Logos or personal word. *He is the truth*, as he is the way and the life; being the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person, he is emphatically the truth of God, "the great light that lighteneth every man who cometh into the world."

He has, in his infinite goodness, favored us with a two fold revelation, the one natural and the other supernatural. The truth which we find in the great volume of nature is the truth of God no less than that which has been revealed in a

supernatural way. The one form of revelation, therefore, cannot contradict the other, but is in perfect harmony with it, and is necessary to its completion. As the truth is related to the different objects of nature, such as the earth and the stars, it becomes the object of natural science; as it has been supernaturally revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and is related to God it is the principle and norm of theology. In the form of science it is subjective, and consequently it becomes multiform; hence we have many sciences, as for instance, Geology, Chemistry, Astronomy, Anthropology, Moral Philosophy, &c., also Theology with its many branches and departments.

It is obvious, that, inasmuch as the truths of these different sciences all spring from the same divine source, they must, if rightly studied and understood, lead the mind back to God. "Philosophia obiter libata abducit a Deo, penitus hausta reducit ad eundem."

This might be illustrated by a reference to the natural sciences generally. It might be shown that they cannot come to their ultimate meaning until this earth with its rich variety of scenery, so splendidly illumined by the starry firmament, is contemplated as the grand theatre on which God has displayed his perfections in the mission of his only begotten Son, and in the wonders of the new creation. Otherwise this habitation of man must be regarded as creation's blot and creation's blank. I shall select my illustrations, however, from those departments of learning more immediately connected with Theology.

The best introduction to the series generally is Athropology. This term has been used in a wider and in a narrower sense by different writers. According to the views of some, this science has to do simply with man's intellectual being, the mind, the soul; hence it is termed *Psychology*. The phenomena and activities of the soul, however, can only be understood fully, when it is considered in its relation to the body. The idea of the one is not complete without the other. The soul and body interpenetrate each other so as to constitute one being. This again is conditioned on all sides by external circumstances.

Man, who is formed out of the dust of the earth, is found to

sustain a necessary relation to the natural world around him as well as to the "spirit-world" above him. Hence he is regarded by some mental philosophers as the termination of a boundless past, the centre of a boundless present and the beginning of a boundless future, including in himself and in his relations the whole universe of existence. This is a sublime and grand view indeed which contemplates man as a microcosm, as the created universe in miniature.

The proper sphere of mental philosophy is, as we conceive, the study of man in all his relations by which he is affiliated and joined to other things, both temporal and spiritual, but, at the same time, as distinguished from these by the peculiarities of his own nature; its business is to solve the problem, "How a man may come to the knowledge of himself, as distinguished from the world on the one hand, and God on the other."

This problem cannot be solved by considering the individual simply in relation to himself, nor by taking a general view of society as it exists in common life. The individual must be viewed in his identity with his race, and the entire race again must be viewed in its complex union; that is, man must be studied in the totality of his nature. Under this view, however, we find that he is a religious, as well as an intellectual being. Notwithstanding the deep depravity of his nature, we find no nation or tribe so barbarous as not to worship the Supreme being under some form or other. Amongst all nations we find what may be termed a "God-consciousness," which distinguishes man from the lower orders of living creatures. But, as we have already seen, there is no form of religion so perfect as the Christian. This is the greatest plastic power that has ever been revealed in the world; it changes man's entire nature, so as to constitute him a new creature; it assimilates his character to that of God in Christ. If then it is important, in the study of this science, to make ourselves acquainted with those natural objects and influences, which condition human life in the different stages of its development, how much more important is it to consider those spiritual realities that are constantly exerting a transforming influence upon

the soul and upon the body. If the devotional and intellectual nature of man is to be studied and understood at all, he must be regarded as a religious being, and here our knowledge of him must be confined to comparatively very narrow limits, if we do not follow him in the higher stages of his development in the sphere of the Christian religion. And again, if Christianity is the highest form of human life, as we have seen, then it is obvious that our knowledge of human phenomena cannot be perfect as long as Christianity is left out of view. So on the contrary, it must be plain that, if in Christ alone humanity is perfected, our knowledge of it can only complete itself in him also, who is the source of all wisdom: i. e., the truths of this interesting science can only be understood fully when they come to be considered in their relation to "the truth as it is in Jesus," in whom humanity is sanctified in all the stages of its development from the mystery of birth to the still greater mystery of death, and in whom the body shall be raised from the grave at the last day, fashioned like to his own glorious body.

When we come to enter the department of moral science we also find this view fully sustained. Moral Philosophy is the science of the harmony of the human will with law, as revealed in reason.

Here the grand question is, "What is the principle of law?" or what is the ground of "moral obligation?" Many different principles have been discovered and unfolded in this department of learning. Amongst the most prominent are the Educational, the Political, the Eudaemonistic, the Practico Aesthetic, the Teleological, and the Theological, each having its corresponding expression: "Educate thyself and others," "Promote the general welfare of man," "Be happy," "Cherish right feelings and let moral sense rule;" "Live with reference to the end of thy being," and finally, "Do the will of God." All very well said. But all moral principles and precepts of this kind are powerless unless they ground themselves in the idea of the divine and eternal. "Educate thyself;" but wherefore? Where is the ground of my obligation to do so? "Be happy;" but how? Where? In what element? "Be

useful;" but to whom? What for? What is utility? That which I conceive to be a benefit to my fellow man may be the occasion of his ruin. "Let moral sense rule;" but what is moral sense? According to what law shall it rule? "Live with reference to the end of life;" but what is that high and noble end? "Do the will of God;" but what is that most perfect will? Where has it been most fully revealed?

These questions never have been, and never can be satisfactorily answered outside the sphere of Christianity. Just as little as the stream of human life, since tainted with sin, can purify itself, so little can man understand the true and ultimate ground of moral obligation without the aid of supernatural revelation. It is only when the light of revelation and the light of moral science mingle their beams, that the latter can be fully understood. The principle of morality is thus discovered not simply to be the law of God, as eternal necessity outwardly revealed to man; but it is said law in man, as identified with his very being. Neither is it the general consciousness of God in the soul, but it is this consciousness in the special form of Christianity.

So we perceive that Christianity is not only the most perfect form of humanity, but it is also the deepest ground and brightest form of morality. The only reliable system of Ethics is that of Christian Ethics. In this high and holy sphere it is alone possible for the science of Moral Philosophy to reach its ideal perfection.

As soon as we enter the sacred temple of theological science we shall also discover that nothing can be understood fully excepting in its relation to that within the veil. As every object in the Jewish temple, from the mercy seat to the doorpost, as well as the grand superstructure as a whole, was typical of the Messiah and his kingdom, so we find that in this department of learning, every subject must be studied and understood in its living relation to him "who is the truth."

It was once said, in the way of reproach, of an eminent theologian, that he was a man of but one idea; but this just happened to be the grand idea in which all other ideas are included, and from which they are derived; namely the proper idea of Christ's person.

He who is pervaded by this all-powerful and eternal idea is prepared to study and understand the truth in whatever form it has been revealed; and he, on the contrary, who has not this idea, cannot have a proper conception of the truth in the fulness of its meaning.

We may take, for illustration, some of the primary and most essential elements of theological science, those which have to do with God's being and character, and those which have to do with man's condition.

As intimated before, all nations have some notion of a Supreme being. Those voyagers, who have visited the most barbarous and savage tribes, have never yet discovered the phenomenon of a nation of Atheists. God is a spirit, filling immensity with his presence, and in the works of nature he has sufficiently revealed himself to the consciousness of man to leave him without excuse. "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even his eternal power and God-head," (Rom. 1: 20.) We cannot maintain then in any sense that the truth of God's being and perfections is undiscovered truth; but we affirm that its revelation completes itself only as it is "truth in Jesus."

The apostle Paul has said of Christ that he is "the image of the invisible God." Col. 1: 15. This we presume cannot be understood in any other sense than that which attaches to him as the Word of God.

"What speech is to thought, that is the incarnate Son to the invisible Father. Thought is a viewless thing. It can traverse space, and run to and fro through creation—and all the while there is no power in my fellow men to discern the careerings of this mystericus agent. But speech is manifested thought. It is thought unbodied; made sensible and palpable to those who could not apprehend it in its secret and silent expatiations." And precisely what speech thus effects in regard to thought, the eternal Son effected in regard to the invisible Father. The Son is the manifested Father, therefore he is termed the "Word," the relation between them being accurately that of speech to thought, the one expressing and setting

forth the other. We conceive, that in a similar sense, Christ is the image of the invisible Father.

With this precisely corresponds the remarkable declaration recorded in the Gospel according to St. John 1: 18, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

Every where in nature, we can see evidences of the divine wisdom, power, and goodness. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth forth his handy work;" but how much greater is the glory of Jehovah as it passes before us in the person of his only begotten Son! Here his perfections and attributes are revealed as they never were before.

In nature, we see created wisdom, power, and goodness, but in Christ Jesus, these, and all other attributes, are personally embodied and revealed. From the general dealings of God with the nations of the earth, we may gather some evidences of his holiness and his justice, which must necessarily proceed against all sin; but does any one wish to be fully satisfied that God is holy and just, let him but go to the garden of Gethsemane and to the cross of Calvary; let him gaze upon the illustrious victim as he is, bending under the burden of human guilt, accumulated by sins not his own, but by imputation; let him but notice the awakened sword of God's justice execute its fearful office in smiting the shepherd, and certainly he must be fully convinced that sin cannot go unpunished. Let him but notice the blood flowing from the wounds of God's Son, for the washing away of human guilt, and he must be fully convinced of the divine holiness.

So everywhere in nature, we can see evidences of God's goodness; but no where has he commended his love toward us, as in the gift of his Son in redemption. Here we are fully assured that "God is love." And, in like manner, the wisdom and power of God are revealed here in the most pre-eminent degree; the former in discovering and the latter in executing the grand scheme of human redemption. The glorious miracles of creation and providence are surpassed by the greater miracles of the incarnation, by the crucifixion of the Son of

God, by his resurrection from the grave, and his ascension into heaven. The glory of God, as declared by the natural heavens, is eclipsed by the brighter glory of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth "righteousness," as the light of the moon and the stars is eclipsed by the brighter effulgence of the natural sun.

To show the correctness of our general position, we shall select but one illustration more. And for the sake of clearness, we shall take the grand distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation period of the sixteenth century; namely, the doctrine of justification by faith.

This doctrine, we maintain, must lose all its value and force, if viewed simply in an abstract way, or if separated from the general system of Christianity, of which it constitutes an essential element, and on the contrary, its true meaning can only be understood, when it is considered in its proper relation to him who of God is made unto us righteousness and complete redemption.

The term justification is usually, and not without some propriety, taken in a forensic sense; that is, the same in which a criminal, after satisfying the law, is acquitted, or justified in a court of justice. Justification is regarded as that act of God by which he pronounces the sinner just, for Christ's sake. A court has been erected upon Mount Zion; the sinner is apprehended by the law and arraigned for trial. He is found guilty of all the charges preferred against him; he acknowledges his guilt; he is penitent; he pleads for forgiveness. Now God, for the sake of Christ's righteousness, wrought out more than eighteen hundred years ago, pronounces the sentence of acquittal. This is justification. Now the question is, whether God justifies out of Christ or in Christ, whether the righteousness of the Saviour is thrown around the sinner outwardly, as a garment, or whether it is made over to him internally by the Spirit working faith in the heart. Now, if the abstract view be correct, can justification be a reality? Is it true that God justifies the sinner in his sins? It is replied that God sees the end from the beginning, and that, according to his gracious decree, he may have pronounced the sentence of acquittal upon

the sinner before he was born. Very true; but is it not also true, that God's only begotten Son was sent into the world, crucified and slain before the foundation of the world? Is it not true, that with *Christ* God has given every other saving benefit? If so, he must also have given the benefit of justification with Christ. Consequently no sinner can receive this benefit until he receives Christ. And God cannot (reverently be it spoken) pronounce upon the sinner the sentence of acquittal out of Christ. Therefore justification must be concrete, and not abstract. To prove this, we need but notice the parts of this work, namely, that performed by the Father, that performed by the Son, and that performed by the Holy Ghost. As said, it is God that justifies; but not God, simply as Father, or as Son, or as Holy Ghost. The three persons of the adorable Trinity are united in the entire work of redemption, so also in the particular work of the sinner's justification.

The Father is seated upon the throne as judge. The sinner is summoned to appear before him. He puts him to pleading his own cause, and when he acknowledges his guilt, he points him to his surety, and when he embraces this surety with a believing heart, relying upon his righteousness, he receives the sentence of acquittal. God the Son also does his part in the work; he places himself between the incensed Judge and the criminal; he pleads the merits of his sufferings and his death; he shows that he has borne the culprit's sins in his own body on the cross; he offers himself to the sinner with his perfect righteousness and when the sinner accepts the offer by a true faith, he receives justification. The office of the Holy Spirit is to convince of sin, of righteousness and a judgment to come. He brings the sinner to a consciousness of his guilt and misery; he shews him the insufficiency of his own righteousness, and brings near the righteousness of God, Isa. 46: 13, which he does not only doctrinally by his word, but also internally and powerfully by his gracious influences, working faith in the heart.

From all this it is obvious that the doctrine of justification by faith, viewed in an abstract way as is often the case, cannot be of any real force; but only comes to its full meaning

when considered in its living relation to "the truth as it is in Jesus." As two or more negatives can never make a positive, so an abstract notion can never make a living and saving reality. And here precisely is the grand reason why Christianity has been made to suffer so much from the hands of its professed friends.

Why is it that the preaching of our day accomplishes comparatively so little good? Since we have the Bible and the pure doctrines of the Reformation, why is it, that they have so little power in bringing the multitudes within the pales of the Church, and why is it that we have not the zeal and earnestness in the cause of the Christian religion, for which our pious forefathers were so eminently distinguished? Is it because God's arm is shortened that it cannot save? Is it because Christ has forgotten his promises to his people? Not at all. It is just because Christianity as a living power has been too much left out of view.

Ministers of the Gospel, instead of preaching Christ and him crucified, deliver polished and beautiful essays. Instead of delivering, the truths of the Bible, as the truth of Christ in living connection with him, they deal in abstract notions and speculations: these they deal out to the people just as merchants do their goods. (I mean as dry-good's merchants deal out their dry goods.) Men study theology to become great and learned; if possible to become Doctors of Divinity. Hence we have the distinction of theoretical and practical men. A theoretical man is one who deals merely in theory. The practical man is the one who retails other men's thoughts. In this sense we have come to hear of late even of practical theology. It has been conceived to be necessary and important to select practical men as professors in our seminaries, who could teach young men the art of dealing out to advantage the good thoughts of others, when they once come to be preachers. What a conception this! as though theology itself were not a living power intended for the heart as well as the intellect; as though this greatest of all sciences were a mere theory.

It is sacrilege to entertain such a thought. Theories spring from the brains of men. Sciences spring from God, and that

of theology especially springs from God in Christ; and as we have clearly seen will lead back to him.

Therefore the most truly scientific man, and the best theologian, will also be the most practical man. Theory may be true or false. Science is essentially true and must necessarily be practical in its bearings and results. How important, therefore, that all our colleges and other seminaries of learning be truly scientific.

How important that every interpreter of truth, and particularly the professor of theology occupy the Christian Stand-Point! If this were generally the case, that is, if all truth were considered in its living relation to Jesus, every form of error would soon give way; darkness would be dissipated, infidelity would blush at its own deformity, and all abstract thinkers as well as abstract forms of thought would soon become instinct with supernatural life.

When we look upon the immense number of skeletons that are collected in the theological world (of dead theologians and their works), it becomes a serious question: "Can these dry bones live?" O God, thou knowest; with thee all things are possible. Christ is the resurrection and the life; and as those who believe in him are raised from their graves of spiritual death to newness of life, he can also raise up living interpreters of truth, and give a living theology—teachers, who live in the truth of Jesus as in their proper element, and whose words are more beautiful than apples of gold in pictures of silver. Blessed are the Church and the Institutions which are favored with such instructors.

ART. VIII.—SHORT NOTICES.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER: *A View of the Productive Forces of Modern Society and the Results of Labor, Capital and Skill.* By Charles Knight. Revised and Edited, with Additions, by David A. Wells, A. M., Editor "Annual Scientific Discovery," "Year Book of Agriculture," "Familiar Science, etc., etc. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard, 1856, pp. 503.

ONE of the most remarkable and encouraging features of the present age, is the general diffusion of intelligence. In those countries especially, in which the English language is prevalent, and more particularly in the United States, persons are to be found amongst all ranks and conditions in life, who, on the score of intelligence, are an honor to themselves and to their country. There is no honorable calling, however humble it may be in itself, which cannot boast of its intelligent representatives.

This state of things is to be attributed, under Providence, in a great measure, to the special facilities of the age for acquiring information. The art of printing, with its associated branches of industry, has been so greatly improved, that books can be readily multiplied almost without number, and at such a cost as to be furnished at a price fully within the reach of persons of the most moderate means. Besides this, many individuals peculiarly qualified for the task, have devoted themselves to the special business of preparing works, eminently adapted to extend amongst all classes, a correct and extensive knowledge of the various arts and sciences, together with the practical results to which they have been successfully applied. Such individuals, accordingly, must be ranked amongst the benefactors of mankind.

We are gratified to be able to say, that the book, whose title we have given above, belongs to the class of works to which we have just referred. The author seems to have devoted himself to the praiseworthy task of serving his generation in the particular sphere we have been contemplating, and has furnished abundant evidence of his eminent qualifications for the position he has assumed. He has already

given to the public a number of valuable works, peculiarly adapted to spread intelligence among the masses. The one now before us, is by no means the least eminent among the series. It furnishes a vast amount of important information in relation to the arts and sciences, as applied practically to the various spheres of industry. We do not know, when we met with a book, which contains so much useful information presented in a very intelligible and attractive form. It is, in reality, Political Economy, practically applied. The American Editor has done much to render the work serviceable to his readers, by his careful revision, and various valuable additions, so as to adapt it to an American sphere. The work should be in the possession of every intelligent citizen. F.

THE SUFFERING SAVIOUR; *Or Meditations on the Last Days of Christ.* By Frederick W. Krummacher, D. D., Chaplain to His Majesty the King of Prussia; Author of "Elisha the Tishbite," "Last Days of Elisha," "The Martyr Lamb," etc. Translated under the express sanction of the Author, by Samuel Jackson. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1856, pp. 474.

IT is sometimes a matter of surprise, even to an intelligent mind, to observe the great variety of gifts which are found to characterize men of acknowledged intelligence. Scarcely any two are to be met with, whose mental characteristics are in all respects alike, and no one, with perhaps here and there a rare exception, seems to excel in more than one particular sphere. There is much divine wisdom shown in this arrangement. It furnishes a pleasing variety, which tends to interest, and does much to throw a charm over human society. Besides this, it provides men adapted to every variety of sphere and want in life.

Dr. Krummacher, the author of the work, the title of which is given above, possesses a peculiarity of intellect, which is emphatically his own. He cannot be said to be a profound theologian or erudite philosopher. To any thing of this character, he would, by no means, set up any claim. His sphere is the pulpit and the rostrum, and not the professor's chair. He is the orator, swaying the multitudes by his burning words of eloquence. Most men, who excel in this sphere, owe much of their popularity and power to their manner. Stripped of this, their mental productions are comparatively tame. Such is, however, not the case with Krummacher. His manner has doubtless something to do with his fame as an orator. But this is not the

leading feature in what proceeds from his eloquent lips. The productions of his mind are pervaded by a pathos, which gives them power, even when transferred to the pages of a book. He lays hold of his subject with such masterly vigor, as to cause it to pass before the minds of his hearers or readers in living pictures, such as fail not to strike and impress. For graphic descriptive powers, Krummacher has never had his equal. Hence it is, that his various works are so eagerly sought and extensively read. They necessarily lose much in translation; but still retain enough of their original life and power, to make them highly acceptable to every cultivated Christian reader.

The work before us is on a subject specially adapted to the peculiar powers of the author's mind. Here is furnished abundant room for the exercise of his descriptive faculty, and he has not failed to turn it to good account. We have the Suffering Saviour presented before us in every variety of aspect. The diversified scenes immediately connected with the suffering period of his life, are all portrayed in the most vivid and striking manner. The Christian reader cannot arise from the perusal of any portion of its pages, without being deeply moved and most solemnly impressed. The work is eminently devotional in its character, and is well calculated to effect a vast amount of good. The translation, we will yet add, has also been faithfully and admirably executed. F.